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THE

WORKS

OF THE

REV. JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

ARRANGED BY THOMAS SHERIDAN, A.M.

WITH

Notes, Historical and Critical.

A NEW EDITION, IN NINETEEN VOLUMES;

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CONTENTS

OF

THE TENTH VOLUME.

LETTERS.

	Page
TO the rev. John Kendall	3
To the Athenian Society	6
To Mr. William Swift	8
To Mr. Deane Swift	10
To sjr William Temple	12
To Varina [Miss Waryng]	14
To Mrs. Jane Swift	20
To the rev. Mr. Winder	22
Mrs. Jane Swift to Mr. Deane Swift	26
To Miss Jane Waryng	27
To Dr. King, bishop of Derry	32
To the rev. Dr. Tisdall	33
To the same	36
To the same	41
To archbishop King	44
From the earl of Berkeley	47
To archbishop King	ib.
To the same	49
From Mr. Addison	52
To Dr. Sterne	53
To the same	55
To archbishop King	57
From Anthony Henley, esq.	62
From the same	63
To archbishop King	64
From archbishop King	67
To the same	70
To Dean Sterne	72
To archbishop King	74
To Mr. Hunter	78
From archbishop King	81
Mr. le Clerc to Mr. Addison	85
From archbishop King	86

To

Page
To Mr. Hunter 89
To the lord primate Marsh 92
To archbishop King 93
From Mr. Addison 96
From the same 97
From the same 98
From earl of Halifax ..... ib.
From Mr. Steele 99
To the earl of Pembroke 100
From Mr. Addison 101
To Dean Sterne 103
Swift's account of his Mother's death 104
From Mr. Addison 106
From Sir Andrew Fountaine 107
From Mr. Henley ..... ib.
To Mr. Benjamin Tooke 113
Mr. Tooke in answer 114
From Mr Addison 116
From the Irish bishops to the bishop of Ossory and Killaloe 117
To archbishop King 118
From archbishop King 121
To Dean Sterne 123
A Memorial to Mr. Harley 126
To archbishop King 129
From archbishop King 135
From lord primate Marsh and archbishop King 136
From archbishop King 137
To the same 138
From the same 140
Mr. Thomas Swift to Mr. Harley 141
To archbishop King 143
To the same 145
To the same 149
From the same 151
To the same 153
To the same 158
From Mr. secretary St. John 159
The answer 160
From archbishop King ..... ib.
From the same 162
To the earl of Peterborow 164
From Mr. Nelson 166
To archbishop King 167
From the same 171
To the same 173
From lord Peterborow 176
From archbishop King 178
To lord Peterborow 181
To archbishop King 184

To

Page
To Mr. secretary St. John 187
From archbishop King 188
From lord Peterborow 193
To archbishop King 195
From archbishop King 199
From the same 202
To the archbishop 204
To the same 209
From the same 211
From the same 217
To Dr. Francis Atterbury 219
To archbishop King 223
From the same 228
From the same 233
From the same ..... ib.
From the same 234
From Mr. secretary St. John 238
From the same ..... ib.
From Mrs. Long ..... ib.
Mr. Shower to the lord high treasurer Oxford 241
The Lord Treasurer's answer 242
To Mr. —— at Lynn, on Mrs. Long's death 244
To Dean Sterne 246
To archbishop King 251
From Dr. Sacheverell 255
To archbishop King 257
To the same 260
To Mrs. Hill 262
To general Hill 263
Lord Bolingbroke to Mr. Prior 266
To archbishop King 271
From the countess of Orkney and Mrs. Ramsay 274
From the countess of Orkney 275
To archbishop King 276
From the countess of Orkney 279
To the same ..... ib.
From the same 282
From Mr. Harrison ..... ib.
To the duchess of Ormond 287
To archbishop King 289
From lord Bolingbroke 292
To the duke of Argyll 293
From Robert Hunter, esq. 294
From the same 296
To archbishop King 297
From Mr. Prior 301
From earl Poulett 303
To the rev. Mr. William Draper ..... ib.
From dean Atterbury 304

To

Page
To archbishop King 304
To chancellor Harcourt 306
To Mr. Addison 307
From Mr. Steele 308
To Mr. Steele 309
From sir Thomas Hanmer 312
To archbishop King 313
From Mr. Steele 315
To Mr. Steele 316
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. 318
From the rev. Mr. Sharpe 319
To Miss Vanhomrigh 320
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. 322
To archbishop King ..... ib.
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. 324
To bishop Atterbury ..... ib.
From Mr. Prior 327
From Mr. Lewis 329
Lady Bolingbroke to Lord Harley 330
Lady Masham to Lord Harley 331
From Dr. Smalridge ..... ib.
To archdeacon Walls 333
From lord chancellor Phipps 334
To archdeacon Walls 335
To the same 337
To archbishop King 339
From lord chancellor Phipps 343
From Dr. Davenant 344
Extract from the MS. diary of bishop Kennett, in the library of the marquis of Lansdowne 346
From the duchess of Ormond 348
To lord treasurer Oxford ..... ib.
From judge Nutley 351
From Mr. Pope 354
To bishop Sterne 358
From lord primate Lindsay 360
To archbishop King 362
From lord primate Lindsay 366
From lord chancellor Phipps 368
From the earl of Anglesey 370
From the earl of Peterborow 372
From lord treasurer Oxford 374
A letter from an informer 375
Humorous lines by lord Oxford, etc. 376
More lines of Humour by lord Oxford 378
From the duchess of Ormond ..... ib.
To the earl of Peterborow 379
From Chiverton Charlton, esq. 384
From Mr. Gay 387

To

Page
To Miss Vanhomrigh ... 389
From Mr. Barber ... 390
From Dr. Arbuthnot ... 391
From Mr. Pope ... 393
From T. Harley, esq. ... 396
From Mr. Thomas ... 398
From Dr. Arbuthnot ... 399
To lord treasurer Oxford ... 402
From Mr. Barber ... 403
From the same to Mr. Ford ... 405
From Mr. Thomas ... ib.
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 406
From Charles Ford, esq. ... 408
From the same ... 411
From Dr. Arbuthnot ... 413
From lord Bolingbroke ... 415
From Charles Ford, esq. ... 416
From the same ... 418
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 420
From lord Harley ... 422
From Dr. Arbuthnot ... ib.
To the duke of Ormond ... 425
From Charles Ford, esq. ... 426
From the duke of Ormond ... 428
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 429
From Charles Ford, esq. ... 430
From the same ... 432
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... ib.
From Dr. Arbuthnot ... 434
To the earl of Oxford ... 435
From the earl of Oxford ... ib.
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 436
From lady Masham ... 438
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 440
From Mr. Barber ... 441
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 442
From Charles Ford, esq. ... ib.
To Miss Vanhomrigh ... 447
From Mr. J. Birch ... 448
From lord Bolingbroke ... 449
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 450
From Mr. Barber ... ib.
From Charles Ford, esq. ... 452
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 455
To lady Masham ... 456
To lord Bolingbroke ... 458
To archdeacon Walls ... 463
From Erasmus Lewis, esq. ... 464

From

Page
From lord Bolingbroke 466
From Charles Ford, esq. 467
From Dr. Arbuthnot 469
To Miss Vanhomrigh 471
From Charles Ford, esq. 472

SWIFT'S

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE REV. JOHN KENDALL*.

SIR, MOOR PARK, FEB. 11, 1691-2.

IF any thing made me wonder at your letter, it was your almost inviting me to do so in the beginning, which indeed grew less upon knowing the occasion; since it is what I have heard from more than one in and about Leicester. And for the friendship between us, as I suppose yours to be real; so I think it would be proper to imagine mine, until you find any cause to believe it pretended: though I might have some quarrel at you in three or four lines, which are very ill bestowed in complimenting me. And as to that of my great prospects of making my fortune, on which as your kindness only looks on the best side, so my own cold temper, and unconfined humour, is a much greater hindrance than any fear of that which is the subject of your letter; I shall speak plainly to you, that the very ordinary observations I made with going half a mile beyond the University, have

* Vicar of Thornton in Leicestershire. This letter was directed, "To be left at Mr. Birkhead's, over against the Free-"school in Leicester." Dr. Swift (who, by the advice of his physicians, went to Ireland for his health) had been now returned seven weeks to sir William Temple, at Moor park. N.

taught me experience enough not to think of marriage till I settle my fortune in the world, which I am sure will not be in some years; and even then itself, I am so hard to please, that I suppose I shall put it off to the other world.—How all that suits with my behaviour to the woman * in hand, you may easily imagine, when you know that there is something in me which must be employed, and when I am alone turns all, for want of practice, into speculation and thought; insomuch that these seven weeks I have been here, I have writ and burnt, and writ again upon all manner of subjects, more than perhaps any man in England. And this is it which a person of great honour † in Ireland (who was pleased to stoop so low as to look into my mind) used to tell me, that my mind was like a conjured spirit, that would do mischief if I would not give it employment. It is this humour that makes me so busy when I am in company, to turn all that way; and since it commonly ends in talk, whether it be love, or common conversation, it is all alike. This is so common, that I could remember twenty women in my life, to whom I have behaved myself just the same way; and I profess, without any other design than that of entertaining myself when I am very idle, or when something goes amiss in my affairs. This I always have done as a man of the world, when I had no design for any thing grave in it, and what I thought at worst a harmless impertinence; but, whenever I begin to take sober resolutions, or, as now, to think of entering into the Church, I never found it would be hard to put off this kind of folly at the porch. Besides, perhaps, in so general

* Betty Jones. See Letter to Mr. Worrall, Jan. 18, 1728-9. N.

† His early patron, lord Berkeley. N.

a con-

a conversation among that sex, I might pretend a little to understand where I am when I am going to choose for a wife; and though the cunning sharper of the town may have a cheat put on him, yet it must be cleanlier carried than this which you think I am going to top upon myself. And truly, if you knew how metaphysical I am that way, you would little fear I should venture on one who has given so much occasion to tongues: for, though the people is a lying sort of a beast (and I think in Leicester above all parts that I ever was in) yet they seldom talk without some glimpse of a reason, which I declare (so unpardonably jealous I am) to be a sufficient cause for me to hate any woman any farther than a bare acquaintance. Among all the young gentlemen that I have known who have ruined themselves by marrying (which I assure you is a great number) I have made this general rule, that they are either young, raw, and ignorant scholars, who, for want of knowing company, believe every silk petticoat includes an angel; or else these have been a sort of honest young men, who perhaps are too literal in rather marrying than burning, and entail a misery on themselves and posterity, by an overacting modesty. I think, I am very far excluded from listing under either of these heads. I confess, I have known one or two men of sense enough, who, inclined to frolicks, have married and ruined themselves out of a maggot; but a thousand household thoughts, which always drive matrimony out of my mind whenever it chances to come there, will, I am sure, frighten me from that; beside that I am naturally temperate, and never engaged in the contrary, which usually produces those effects.

effects. Your hints at particular stories I do not understand; and having never heard them but so hinted, thought it proper to give you this, to show you how I thank you for your regard of me; and I hope my carriage will be so as my friends need not be ashamed of the name *. I should not have behaved myself after that manner I did in Leicester †, if I had not valued my own entertainment beyond the obloquy of a parcel of very wretched fools, which I solemnly pronounce the inhabitants of Leicester to be; and so I contented myself with retaliation. I hope you will forgive this trouble; and so with my service to your good wife, I am, good cousin,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

JON. SWIFT.

TO THE ATHENIAN SOCIETY ‡.

GENTLEMEN, MOOR PARK, FEB. 14, 1691-2.

SINCE every body pretends to trouble you with their follies, I thought I might claim the privilege

* This sentence is very inaccurate; it ought to be either 'and I hope my carriage will be *such* as,' &c.—or—'and I hope *to carry* myself *so* as *that* my friends need not be ashamed of the name.' If the noun be used, it should have its corresponding pronoun; if the verb, its adverb. S.

† Where, in 1688, Swift resided some months with his mother. On this head see Mr. Sheridan's Life of Swift; and the Dean's Letter to Mr. Worrall, Jan. 18, 1728-9. N.

‡ This letter first appeared in the Supplement to the fifth volume of the Athenian Gazette, a periodical collection of answers sent, or supposed to be sent, to the several letters addressed to the publisher, John Dunton. N.

of

of an Englishman, and put in my share among the rest. Being last year in Ireland (from whence I returned about half a year ago *), I heard only a loose talk of your society; and believed the design to be only some new folly just suitable to the age, which God knows I little expected ever to produce any thing extraordinary. Since my being in England, having still continued in the country, and much out of company, I had but little advantage of knowing any more, till about two months ago, passing through Oxford, a very learned gentleman there first shewed me two or three of your volumes, and gave me his account and opinion of you. A while after I came to this place, upon a visit to sir William Temple †, where I have been ever since, and have seen all the four volumes ‡ with their supplements; which answering my expectation, the perusal has produced what you find enclosed §.

As I have been somewhat inclined to this folly, so I have seldom wanted somebody to flatter me in it. And for the ode enclosed, I have sent it to a person of very great learning and honour, and since to some others, the best of my acquaintance (to which I thought very proper to enure it for a greater

* By this expression, and some particulars which follow, it appears that Dr. Swift, on his return from Ireland, did not immediately go back to Moor-park; as, in the letter to Mr. Kendall, dated only three days before this to the Athenian Society, we find he had been but seven weeks with sir William. The intermediate time, from the subject of the letter to Mr. Kendall, appears to have been principally passed with his mother at Leicester, from which place he made Oxford in his way to Moor-park. N.

† His kind and earliest patron. N.

‡ The folio edition of the Athenian Oracle. N.

§ His "Ode to the Athenian Society;" printed in vol. XVI. N.

 light);

light); and they have all been pleased to tell me, that they are sure it will not be unwelcome, and that I should beg the honour of you to let it be printed before your next volume (which I think is soon to be published); it being so usual before most books of any great value among poets: and before its seeing the world, I submit it wholly to the correction of your pens.

I entreat therefore one of you would descend so far, as to write two or three lines to me of your pleasure upon it: which as I cannot but expect from gentlemen who have so well shewn, upon so many occasions, that greatest character of scholars in being favourable to the ignorant; so, I am sure, nothing at present can more highly oblige me, or make me happier. I am, gentlemen,

Your ever most humble, and most admiring servant,

JON. SWIFT.

TO MR. WILLIAM SWIFT *.

SIR, MOOR PARK, NOV. 29, 1692.

MY sister told me you was pleased (when she was here) to wonder I did so seldom write to you. I hope you have been so kind to impute it neither to ill-manners or disrespect. I always have thought that sufficient from one who has always been but too

* This letter to his uncle (though somewhat imperfect and manifestly written in a hurry) certainly merits our regard, as helping to clear up some passages in the writer's early life. N.

troublesome

troublesome to you. Besides, I know your aversion to impertinence; and God knows so very private a life as mine can furnish a letter with little else, for I often am two or three months without seeing any body besides the family; and now my sister is gone, I am likely to be more solitary than before. I am still to thank you for your care in my *testimonium* *; and it was to very good purpose, for I never was more satisfied than in the behaviour of the University of Oxford to me. I had all the civilities I could wish for, and so many substantial favours, that I am ashamed to have been more obliged in a few weeks to strangers, than ever I was in seven years to Dublin college. I am not to take orders † till the king gives me a prebend; and sir William Temple, though he promises me the certainty of it, yet is less forward than I could wish ‡, because (I suppose) he believes I shall leave him §, and, upon some accounts, he thinks me a little necessary to him ‖. If I were affording entertainment, or doing you any satisfaction by my letters, I should be very glad to perform it that way, as I am bound to do it by all others. I am sorry my fortune should fling me so far from the best of my relations;

* For the certificate of his degree, in consequence of which he was admitted *ad eundem* at Oxford, June 14, 1692. D. S.

† It may be observed from this passage, that he does not speak of going into the Church as a point of news to his uncle. D. S.

‡ Here are the grounds of a quarrel which happened between him and sir William Temple in 1694. D. S.

§ Which at last was the cause of much anger in sir William Temple. D. S.

‖ Dr. Swift was at this time employed in revising sir William Temple's Works for the press. N.

but

but hope that I shall have the happiness to see you some time or other. Pray my humble service to my good aunt, and the rest of my relations, if you please. JON. SWIFT.

TO MR. DEANE SWIFT *.

LEICESTER, JUNE 3, 1694.

I RECEIVED your kind letter to-day from your sister; and am very glad to find you will spare time from business so far as to write a long letter to one you have none at all with but friendship, which, as the world passes, is perhaps one of the idlest things in it. It is a pleasure to me to see you sally out of your road, and take notice of curiosities, of which I am very glad to have part, and desire you to set by some idle minutes for a commerce which shall ever be dear to me, and, from so good an observer as you may easily be, cannot fail of being useful. I am sorry to see so much superstition in a country so given to trade; I half used to think those two to be incompatible. Not that I utterly dislike your processions for rain or fair weather, which, as trifling as they are, yet have good effects to quiet common heads, and infuse a gaping devotion † among the rabble. But your burning the

* A cousin of Dr. Swift's, then at Lisbon. N.

† Swift, at this time, little expected that the zeal of the Inquisition should extend to any of his satirical writings; part of which they however actually burnt. See the Vindication of Bickerstaff, in the third volume of this collection. N.

old

old woman, unless she were a duenna, I shall never be reconciled to; though it is easily observed that nations which have most gallantry to the young, are ever the severest upon the old. I have not leisure to descant farther upon your pleasing letter, nor any thing to return you from so barren a scene as this, which I shall leave in four days toward my journey for Ireland. I had designed a letter to my cousin Willoughby *; and the last favour he has done me requires a great deal of acknowledgment; but the thought of my sending so many before, has made me believe it better to trust you with delivering my best thanks to him, and that you will endéavour to persuade him how extremely sensible of his goodness and generosity I am. I wish and shall pray he may be as happy as he deserves, and he cannot be more. My mother desires her best love to him and to you, with both our services to my cousin his wife.

I forgot to tell you I left sir William Temple a month ago, just as I foretold it to you; and every thing happened thereupon exactly as I guessed. He was extremely angry I left him; and yet would not oblige himself any farther than upon my good behaviour, nor would promise any thing firmly to me at all; so that every body judged I did best to leave him. I design to be ordained in September next, and make what endeavours I can for something in the Church. I wish it may ever lie in my cousin's way or yours to have interest to bring me in chaplain of the factory.

If any thing offers from Dublin that may serve either to satisfy or divert you, I will not fail of con-

* A very considerable merchant at Lisbon. D. S.

tributing,

tributing, and giving you constant intelligence from thence of whatever you shall desire. I am

Your affectionate cousin and servant,

JON. SWIFT.

TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE *.

DUBLIN,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, OCT. 6, 1694.

THAT I might not continue the many troubles I have given you, I have all this while avoided one, which I fear proves necessary at last. I have taken all due methods to be ordained, and one time of ordination is already elapsed since my arrival for effecting it. Two or three bishops, acquaintance of our family, have signified to me and them, that after so long standing in the University, it is admired I have not entered upon something or other (above half the clergy in this town being my juniors), and that it being so many years since I left this kingdom, they could not admit me to the ministry without some certificate of my behaviour where I lived; and my lord archbishop of Dublin †

* This very curious letter was transcribed from the original; endorsed by Mrs. Temple, "Swift's Penitential Letter;" copied by Dr. Shipman, late fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and rector of Compton near Winchester, who was a relation to sir William Temple. N.

† Dr. Narcissus Marsh; of whom Swift entertained no very favourable opinion, and whose character he drew with much asperity. See it at large in vol. IX. N.

was

was pleased to say a great deal of this kind to me yesterday; concluding against all I had to say, that he expected I should have a certificate from your honour of my conduct in your family. The *sence* I am in, how low I am fallen in your honour's thoughts, has *denied* me assurance enough to beg this favour, till I find it impossible to avoid: and I entreat your honour to understand, that no person is admitted here to a living, without some knowledge of his abilities for it: which it being reckoned impossible to judge in those who are not ordained, the usual method is to admit men first to some small reader's place, till, by preaching upon occasions, they can *value* themselves for better preferment. This (without great friends) is so general, that if I were fourscore years old I must go the same way, and should at that age be told, every one must have a beginning. I entreat that your honour will consider this, and will please to send me some certificate of my behaviour during almost three years in your family; wherein I shall stand in need of all your goodness to excuse my many weaknesses and oversights, much more to say any thing to my advantage. The particulars expected of me are what relate to morals and learning, and the reasons of quitting your honour's family, that is, whether the last was occasioned by any ill actions. They are all left entirely to your honour's mercy, though in the first I think I cannot reproach myself any farther than for *infirmities*.

This is all I dare beg at present from your honour, under circumstances of life not worth your regard: what is left me to wish (next to the health and prosperity of your honour and family) is, that Heaven would

would one day allow me the opportunity of leaving my acknowledgments at your feet for so many favours I have received; which, whatever effect they have had upon my fortune, shall never fail to have the greatest upon my mind, in approving myself, upon all occasions,

Your honour's most obedient and most dutiful servant.

JON. SWIFT.

P. S. I beg my most humble duty and service be presented to my ladies, your honour's lady and sister.—The ordination is appointed by the archbishop by the beginning of November; so that, if your honour will not grant this favour immediately, I fear it will come too late.

TO VARINA*.

MADAM, APRIL 29, 1696.

IMPATIENCE is the most inseparable quality of a lover, and indeed of every person who is in pursuit of a design whereon he conceives his greatest happiness or misery to depend. It is the same thing in war, in courts, and in common business. Every one who hunts after pleasure, or fame, or fortune,

* Jane, sister to Mr. Waryng, Swift's chamber-fellow at college.—This letter was first printed in Mr. George Monck Berkeley's Literary Relicks, 1789.—A second letter to Miss Waryng, May 4, 1700, will be found in the present volume. Three other letters, directed to her at Belfast, are existing; though I am unable to give more than their dates; Dec. 20, 1695, from Dublin; June 29, 1696, and Aug. 28, 1697, from Moor-park. N.

is

is still restless and uneasy till he has hunted down his game; and all this is not only very natural, but something reasonable too; for a violent desire is little better than a distemper, and therefore men are not to blame in looking after a cure. I find myself hugely infected with this malady, and am easily vain enough to believe it has some very good reasons to excuse it. For indeed, in my case, there are some circumstances which will admit pardon for more than ordinary disquiets. That dearest object upon which all my prospect of happiness entirely depends, is in perpetual danger to be removed for ever from my sight. Varina's life is daily wasting; and though one just and honourable action could furnish health to her, and unspeakable happiness to us both, yet some power that repines at human felicity has that influence to hold her continually doating upon her cruelty, and me upon the cause of it. This fully convinces me of what we are told, that the miseries of man's life are all beaten out on his own anvil. Why was I so foolish to put my hopes and fears into the power or management of another? Liberty is doubtless the most valuable blessing of life; yet we are fond to fling it away on those who have been these 5000 years using us ill. Philosophy advises to keep our desires and prospects of happiness as much as we can in our own breasts, and independent of any thing without. He that sends them abroad is likely to have as little quiet as a merchant whose stock depends upon winds, and waves, and pirates, or upon the words and faith of creditors, every whit as dangerous and inconstant as the other.

I am

I am a villain if I have not been poring this half hour over the paper merely for want of something to say to you:—or is it rather that I have so much to say to you, that I know not where to begin, though at last it is all very likely to be arrant repetition?

Two strangers, a poet and a beggar, went to cuffs yesterday in this town, which minded me heartily to curse both employments. However, I am glad to see those two trades fall out, because I always heard they had been constant cronies: but what was best of all, the poet got the better, and kicked the gentleman beggar out of doors. This was of great comfort to me, till I heard the victor himself was a most abominable bad rhymer, and as mere a vagabond beggar as the other, which is a very great offence to me; for starving is much too honourable for a blockhead. I read some of his verses printed in praise of my lady Donegal, by which he has plainly proved that Fortune has injured him, and that he is dunce enough to be worth five thousand pounds a year. It is a pity he has not also the qualifications to recommend himself to your sex. I dare engage no ladies will hold him long in suspense with their unkindness: one settlement of separate maintenance, well engrossed, would have more charms than all the wit or passion of a thousand letters. And I will maintain it, any man had better have a poor angel to his rival than the devil himself if he was rich.

You now have had time enough to consider my last letter, and to form your own resolutions upon it. I wait your answer with a world of impatience; and if you think fit I should attend you before my journey,

journey, I am ready to do it. My lady Donegal tells me that it is feared my lord deputy will not live many days; and if that be so, it is possible I may take shipping from hence, otherwise I shall set out on Monday fortnight for Dublin, and, after one visit of leave to his excellency, hasten to England: and how far you will stretch the point of your unreasonable scruples to keep me here, will depend upon the strength of the love you pretend for me. In short, madam, I am once more offered the advantage to have the same acquaintance with greatness that I formerly enjoyed, and with better prospect of interest. I here solemnly offer to forego it all for your sake. I desire nothing of your fortune; you shall live where and with whom you please till my affairs are settled to your desire: and in the mean time I will push my advancement with all the eagerness and courage imaginable, and do not doubt to succeed.

Study seven years for objections against all this, and by Heaven they will at last be no more than trifles and put-offs. It is true you have known sickness longer than you have me, and therefore perhaps you are more loath to part with it as an older acquaintance: But listen to what I here solemnly protest, by all that can be witness to an oath, that if I leave this kingdom before you are mine, I will endure the utmost indignities of fortune rather than ever return again, though the king would send me back his deputy. And if it must be so, preserve yourself, in God's name, for the next lover who has those qualities you love so much beyond any of mine, and who will highly admire you for those advantages which shall never share any esteem from

me. Would to Heaven you were but a while sensible of the thoughts into which my present distractions plunge me; they hale me a thousand ways, and I not able to bear them. It is so, by Heaven: The love of Varina is of more tragical consequence than her cruelty. Would to God you had treated and scorned me from the beginning. It was your pity opened the first way to my misfortune; and now your love is finishing my ruin: and it is so then. In one fortnight I must take eternal farewell of Varina; and (I wonder) will she weep at parting, a little to justify her poor pretences of some affection to me? and will my friends still continue reproaching me for the want of gallantry, and neglecting a close siege? How comes it that they all wish us married together, they knowing my circumstances and yours extremely well, and I am sure love you too much, if it be only for my sake, to wish you any thing that might cross your interest or your happiness? Surely, Varina, you have but a very mean opinion of the joys that accompany a true, honourable, unlimited love; yet either nature and our ancestors have highly deceived us, or else all other sublunary things are dross in comparison. Is it possible you can be yet insensible to the prospect of a rapture and delight so innocent and exalted? Trust me, Varina, Heaven has given us nothing else worth the loss of a thought. Ambition, high appearances, friends, and fortune, are all tasteless and insipid when they come in competition; yet millions of such glorious minutes are we perpetually losing, for ever losing, irrecoverably losing, to gratify empty forms and wrong notions, and affected coldnesses and peevish humour. These

are the unhappy incumbrances which we who are distinguished from the vulgar do fondly create to torment ourselves. The only felicity permitted to human life we clog with tedious circumstances and barbarous formality. By Heaven, Varina, you are more experienced, and have less virgin innocence than I. Would not your conduct make one think you were highly skilled in all the little politick methods of intrigue? Love, with the gall of too much discretion, is a thousand times worse than with none at all. It is a peculiar part of nature which art debauches, but cannot improve. We have all of us the seeds of it implanted in ourselves, and they require no helps from courts or fortune to cultivate and improve them. To resist the violence of our inclinations in the beginning, is a train of self-denial that may have some pretences to set up for a virtue: but when they are grounded at first upon reason, when they have taken firm root and grown up to a height, it is folly—folly as well as injustice, to withstand their dictates; for this passion has a property peculiar to itself, to be most commendable in its extremes; and it is as possible to err in the excess of piety as of love.

These are the rules I have long followed with you, Varina; and had you pleased to imitate them, we should both have been infinitely happy. The little disguises, and affected contradictions of your sex, were all (to say the truth) infinitely beneath persons of your pride and mine; paltry maxims that they are, calculated for the rabble of humanity. O Varina, how imagination leads me beyond myself and all my sorrows! It is sunk, and a thousand graves lie open!—No, madam, I will give you no

more of my unhappy temper, though I derive it all from you.

Farewell, madam; and may love make you a while forget your temper to do me justice. Only remember, that if you still refuse to be mine, you will quickly lose him that has resolved to die as he has lived, all yours.

JON. SWIFT.

I have here sent you Mr. Fletcher's letter, wherein I hope I do not injure generosity or break trust, since the contents are purely my own concern. If you will pardon the ill hand and spelling, the reason and sense of it you will find very well and proper.

TO MRS. JANE SWIFT *.

1696.

I RECEIVED your kind letter from Robert by word of mouth, and think it a vast condescension in you to think of us in all your greatness: now shall we

* The Doctor's sister. See May 26, 1699.

This lady, who was then at her uncle Swift's in Bride-street, Dublin, was married about Dec. 13, 1699, to Joseph Fenton, of the city of Dublin, as appears from the licence of that date, granted by the Dean of St. Patrick's (Dr. Jerom Ryves) in whose liberties she was then an inhabitant. At the time of her marriage she was actually worth 300l.; and on representing to her brother that this sum was insufficient to support her, he promised to settle upon her 500l.; being all he was then possessed of in the world, the very hour that he should get some benefice in the

we hear nothing from you for five months but *We courtiers.* Loory is well, and presents his humble duty to my lady, and love to his fellow servant: but he is the miserablest creature in the world; eternally in his melancholy note, whatever I can do: and if his finger does but ache, I am in such a fright you would wonder at it. I pray return my service to Mrs. Filby *, in payment of her's by Robert.

Nothing grows better by your absence but my lady's chamber floor, and Tumble down Dick. Here are three letters for you, and Molly will not send one of them; she says you ordered her to the contrary; Mr. Mose † and I desire you will remember our love to the king, and let us know how he looks.

Robert says, the Czar ‡ is here, and is fallen in love with you, and designs to carry you to Mus-

the church, which he daily expected, provided she would reject this overture of marriage with a proper disdain. But she suffered herself to be guided by the advice of her uncles; and the event of the match proved unfortunate. The husband (who is represented as an old tyrannical vicious rake, and scarcely worth half the sum he had pretended) broke, and died, leaving his wife with two or three children in very deplorable circumstances. On this event, Dr. Swift acquainted her by message (for he would never be so far reconciled as to see her face) that he would allow her twenty pounds a year during her life, provided she would live in England, but not otherwise; which condition she accepted, and constantly received that annuity until the time of her decease; which happened in 1738; at which time the Dean put on mourning for her. N.

* An elder sister to Filby. Her husband, Mr. Filby, was a baker in London. F.

† Steward to sir William Temple, after whose death he married Mrs. Johnson, Stella's sister. N.

‡ Peter the Great was then in England. N.

covy;

covy; pray provide yourself with muffs and sable tippets, *&c.*

Æolus has made a strange revolution in the rooks' nests; but I say no more, for it is dangerous to meddle with things above us.

I desire your absence heartily; for now I live in great state, and the cook comes in to know what I please to have for dinner: I ask very gravely what is in the house, and accordingly give orders for a dish of pigeons, or, *&c.* You shall have no more ale here unless you send us a letter. Here is a great bundle and a letter for you; both came together from London. We all keep home like so many cats,

JON. SWIFT.

TO THE REV. MR. WINDER*, PREBENDARY OF KILROOT.

[TO BE LEFT AT BELFAST, IN THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM, IRELAND.]

MOOR PARK, JAN. 13, 1698-9.

I AM not likely to be so pleased with any thing again this good while, as I was with your letter of December 20, and it has begun to put me into a good opinion of my own merits, or at least my skill

* This gentleman was Swift's immediate successor in the prebend of Kilroot. In 1714 he printed a sermon, which he preached at St. Mary's, Dublin, May 30, 1714, "on the mischief of faction to church and state." Elizabeth the youngest daughter of Mr. Winder was mother to the first lord Macartney. N.

at

at negotiation, to find I have so quickly restored a correspondence that I feared was declining, as it requires more charms and address in women to revive one fainting flame than to kindle a dozen new ones; but I assure you I was very far from imputing your silence to any bad cause (having never entertained one single ill thought of you in my life), but to a custom which breaks off commerce between abundance of people after a long absence. At first one omits writing for a little while, and then one stays a while longer to consider of excuses, and at last it grows desperate, and one does not write at all: At this rate I have served others, and have been served myself.

I wish I had a lexicon by me to find whether your Greek word be spelt and accented right; and I am very sorry you have made an *acutum in ultima*, as if you laid the greatest stress upon the worst part of the word. However, I protest against your meaning, or any interpretation you shall ever make of that nature out of my letters. If I thought you deserved any bitter words, I should either deliver them plainly, or hold my tongue altogether; for I esteem the custom of conveying one's resentments by hints or innuendoes to be a sign of malice, or fear, or too little sincerity; but I have told you *coram et absens*, that you are in your nature more sensible than you need be, and it is hard you cannot be satisfied with the esteem of the best among your neighbours, but lose your time in regarding what may be thought of you by one of my privacy and distance. I wish you could as easily make my esteem and friendship for you to be of any value, as you may be sure to command them.

I should

I should be sorry if you have been at an inconvenience in hastening my accounts; and I dare refer you to my letters, that they will lay the fault upon yourself; for I think I desired more than once, that you would not make more dispatch than stood with your ease, because I was in no haste at all.

I desired of you two or three times that when you had sent me a catalogue of those few books, you would not send them to Dublin till you had heard again from me: The reason was, that I did believe there was one or two of them that might have been useful to you, and one or two more that were not worth the carriage: Of the latter sort were an old musty Horace, and Foley's book: of the former were Reynolds' Works, Collection of Sermons, in 4to. Stillingfleet's Grounds, &c. and the folio paper book, very good for sermons, or a receipt-book for your wife, or to keep accounts for mutton, raisins, &c. The *Sceptis Scientifica* is not mine, but old Mr. Dobbs's, and I wish it were restored: He has Temple's *Miscellanea* instead of it, which is a good book, worth your reading. If *Sceptis Scientifica* comes to me, I'll burn it for a fustian piece of abominable curious virtuoso stuff. The books missing are few and inconsiderable, not worth troubling any body about. I hope this will come to your hands before you have sent your cargo, that you may keep those books I mention; and desire you will write my name, and *ex dono* before them in large letters.

I desire my humble service to Mrs. Winder, and that you will let her know I shall pay a visit at Carmony some day or other, how little soever any of you may think of it. But I will, as you desire,

excuse

excuse you the delivery of my compliments to poor H. Clements, and hope you will have much better fortune than poor Mr. Davis, who has left a family that is like to find a cruel want of him. Pray let me hear that you grow very rich, and begin to make purchases. I never heard that H. Clements was dead: I was at his mayoral feast: Has he been mayor since? or did he die then, and every body forget to send me word of it?

Those sermons you have thought fit to transcribe will utterly disgrace you, unless you have so much credit that whatever comes from you will pass: They were what I was firmly resolved to burn, and especially some of them the idlest trifling stuff that ever was writ, calculated for a church without company or a roof, like our * * * * * * * * * Oxford. They will appear a perfect lampoon upon me, whenever you look upon them, and remember they are mine.

I remember those letters to Eliza; they were writ in my youth; you might have sealed them up, and nobody of my friends would have opened them; Pray burn them. There were parcels of other papers, that I would not have lost; and I hope you have packed them up so that they may come to me. Some of them were abstracts and collections from reading.

You mention a dangerous rival for an absent lover; but I must take my fortune: If the report proceeds, pray inform me; and when you have leisure and humour, give me the pleasure of a letter from you: And though you are a man full of fastenings to the world, yet endeavour to continue a friendship in absence;

absence; for who knows but fate may jumble us together again? And I believe, had I been assured of your neighbourhood, I should not have been so unsatisfied with the region I was planted in. I am, and will be ever entirely,

Yours, &c.

JON. SWIFT.

P. S. Pray let me know something of my debt being paid to Tailer, the innkeeper of ——; I have forgot the town ——, between Dromore and Newry.

MRS. JANE SWIFT TO MR. DEANE SWIFT.

MAY 26, 1699.

MY poor brother has lost his best friend sir William Temple, who was so fond of him whilst he lived, that he made him give up his living * in this country, to stay with him at Moor Park: and promised to get him one in England. But death came in between, and has left him unprovided both of friend and living!

* The prebend of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor, then worth about 100l. a year, and in 1786 worth about 170l. N.

TO MISS JANE WARYNG *.

MADAM, DUBLIN, MAY 4, 1700.

I AM extremely concerned at the account you give of your health; for my uncle told me he found you in appearance better than you had been in some years, and I was in hopes you had still continued so. God forbid I should ever be the occasion of creating more troubles to you, as you seem to intimate! The letter you desired me to answer I have frequently read, and thought I had replied to every part of it that required it; however, since you are pleased to repeat those particulars wherein you desire satisfaction, I shall endeavour to give it you as well as I am able. You would know what gave my temper that sudden turn, as to alter the style of my letters since I last came over. If there has been that alteration you observe, I have told you the cause abundance of times. I had used a thousand endeavours and arguments, to get you from the company and place you are in; both on the account of your health and humour, which I thought were like to suffer very much in such an air, and before such examples. All I had in answer from you, was nothing but a great deal of arguing, and sometimes in a style so very imperious as I thought might have been spared, when I reflected how much you had been in the wrong. The other thing you would know is, whether this change of style be owing to

* A young lady of family in the North of Ireland. It was written not long before the time of Stella's fixing her residence in that kingdom. See p. 14. N.

the

the thoughts of a new mistress. I declare, upon the word of a christian and a gentleman, it is not; neither had I ever thoughts of being married to any other person but yourself. I had ever an opinion that you had a great sweetness of nature and humour; and whatever appeared to the contrary, I looked upon it only as a thing put on as necessary before a lover: but I have since observed in abundance of your letters such marks of a severe indifference, that I began to think it was hardly possible for one of my few good qualities to please you. I never knew any so hard to be worked upon, even in matters where the interest and concern are entirely your own; all which, I say, passed easily while we were in the state of formalities and ceremony; but, since that, there is no other way of acccounting for this untractable behaviour in you, but by imputing it to a want of common esteem and friendship for me.

When I desired an account of your fortune, I had no such design as you pretend to imagine. I have told you many a time, that in England it was in the power of any young fellow of common sense to get a larger fortune than ever you pretended to: I asked, in order to consider whether it were sufficient, with the help of my poor income, to make one of your humour easy in a married state. I think it comes to almost a hundred pounds a year; and I think at the same time that no young woman in the world of the same income would dwindle away her health and life in such a sink, and among such family conversation: neither have all your letters been once able to persuade that you have the least value for me, because you so little regarded what I so often said

upon that matter. The dismal account you say I have given you of my livings * I can assure you to be a true one; and, since it is a dismal one even in your own opinion, you can best draw consequences from it. The place where Dr. Bolton † lived is upon a living which he keeps with the deanery; but the place of residence for that they have given me is within a mile of a town called Trim, twenty miles from hence; and there is no other way, but to hire a house at Trim, or build one on the spot: the first is hardly to be done, and the other I am too poor to perform at present. For coming down to Belfast, it is what I cannot yet think of, my attendance is so close, and so much required of me; but our government sits very loose, and I believe will change in a few months; whether our part ‡ will partake in the change, I know not, though I am very apt to believe it; and then I shall be at leisure for a short journey. But I hope your other friends, more powerful than I, will before that time persuade you

* Those of Laracor and Rathbeggin. F.

† This gentleman, as well as Dr. Swift, was chaplain to lord Berkeley when one of the lords justices in Ireland; and was promoted to the deanery of Derry, which had been previously promised to Dr. Swift: but Mr. Bush, the principal secretary, for weighty reasons best known to himself, laid Dr. Swift aside, unless he would pay him a large sum; which the Doctor refused with the utmost contempt and scorn. F.—Dr. Bolton, who was also Minister of St. Werburgh's, Dublin, was advanced to the bishoprick of Clonfert, Sept. 12, 1722; translated to Elphin, April 16, 1724; to Cashel, Jan. 6, 1729; and died in 1744. He was one of the most eloquent speakers of his time, and was particularly skilled in ecclesiastical history. N.

‡ Meaning Charles earl of Berkeley, who was then one of the three lords justices. The earl of Rochester was appointed lord lieutenant in September following. N.

from

from the place where you are. I desire my service to your mother, in return for her remembrance: but for any other dealings that way, I entreat your pardon; and I think I have more cause to resent your desires of me in that case, than you have to be angry at my refusals. If you like such company and conduct, much good do you with them! My education has been otherwise. My uncle Adam * asked me one day in private, as by direction, what my designs were in relation to you, because it might be a hindrance to you if I did not proceed. The answer I gave him (which I suppose he has sent you) was to this effect: "That I hoped I was no hindrance to you; because the reason you urged against an union with me was drawn from your indisposition, which still continued; that you also thought my fortune not sufficient, which is neither at present in a condition to offer you: That, if your health and my fortune were as they ought, I would prefer you above all your sex; but that, in the present condition of both, I thought it was against your opinion, and would certainly make you unhappy: That, had you any other offers which your friends or yourself thought more to your advantage, I should think I were very unjust to be an obstacle in your way." Now for what concerns my fortune, you have answered it. I desire therefore, you will let me know if your health be otherwise than it was when you told me the doctors advised you against marriage, as what would certainly hazard your life. Are they or you grown of another opinion in this

* Whose daughter, Anne, married a clergyman of the name of Perry. See Journal to Stella, May 21, 1711. N.

particular?

particular? are you in a condition to manage domestick affairs, with an income of less (perhaps) than three hundred pounds a year? have you such an inclination to my person and humour, as to comply with my desires and way of living, and endeavour to make us both as happy as you can? will you be ready to engage in those methods I shall direct for the improvement of your mind, so as to make us entertaining company for each other, without being miserable when we are neither visiting nor visited? can you bend your love and esteem and indifference to others the same way as I do mine? shall I have so much power in your heart, or you so much government of your passions, as to grow in good humour upon my approach, though provoked by a ———? have you so much good-nature as to endeavour by soft words to smooth any rugged humour occasioned by the cross accidents of life? shall the place wherever your husband is thrown be more welcome than courts or cities without him? In short, these are some of the necessary methods to please men, who, like me, are deep-read in the world; and to a person thus made, I should be proud in giving all due returns towards making her happy. These are the questions I have always resolved to propose to her with whom I meant to pass my life; and whenever you can heartily answer them in the affirmative, I shall be blessed to have you in my arms, without regarding whether your person be beautiful, or your fortune large. Cleanliness in the first, and competency in the other, is all I look for. I desire indeed a plentiful revenue, but would rather it should be of my own; though I should

I should bear from a wife to be reproached for the greatest.

I have said all I can possibly say in answer to any part of your letter, and in telling you my clear opinion as to matters between us. I singled you out at first from the rest of women; and I expect not to be used like a common lover. When you think fit to send me an answer to this without———, I shall then approve myself, by all means you shall command, Madam,

Your most obedient humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

TO THE BISHOP OF DERRY *.

MY LORD, DUBLIN CASTLE, JULY 16, 1700.

I WAS several times to wait on your lordship at your lodgings; but you were either abroad, or so engaged, that I could not be permitted the honour to attend you. I have an humble request to your lordship, that you will please to excuse me if I cannot be at the triennial visitation; for my lord † and lady continually residing at the lodge, I am obliged to a constant attendance there. I am with all respect, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

* Dr. William King, afterwards archbishop of Dublin. N.

† The earl of Berkeley, then one of the lords justices of Ireland. N.

TO THE REV. DR. TISDALL *.

LONDON, DEC. 16, 1703.

I PUT great violence on myself, in abstaining all this while from treating you with politicks. I wish you had been here for ten days, during the highest

* A very learned and ingenious clergyman, and fellow of the university of Dublin. He lived in great intimacy with Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley, and made proposals of marriage to the former. Whether it were with a view to rouze affections in the adamantine heart of her admired object; or a reach of policy in Dr. Swift, to acquaint Mrs. Johnson, by such indirect means, that he had no intention of engaging himself in a married life; or whether in truth there were any artifice on either side; is now not possible to be determined. But the lady certainly received the addresses of Dr. Tisdall, and gave him all proper encouragements. It is also certain that Dr. Swift had so little thoughts of marriage at this time, that he went to the court of England during these addresses, and wrote constantly to this gentleman, as to a person so intimately acquainted with Mrs. Johnson, that he frequently conveyed to her the political news of England through his hands. The event of this courtship appears in Dr. Swift's letter of April 20, 1704; which seems to have brought matters to a crisis. Mrs. Johnson discovered no repugnancy to the match; but still she would be advised by Dr. Swift. The Doctor, perhaps loth to be separated from so delightful a companion, threw an obstacle in the way that was not to be surmounted. This gentleman had a benefice in the church, of a considerable value, about 100 miles from Dublin, which required his attendance. Dr. Swift, in order to bring measures to a final issue, made him an overture, that he should settle upon his wife an hundred pounds a year for pin-money. The lover, indeed, though extremely captivated with the charms of his mistress, hesitated at this proposal, and desired a night's time to consider of it; but next morning, contrary to expectation, he agreed to the terms. Swift, never at a loss for

and warmest reign of party and faction, that I ever knew or read of, upon the bill against occasional conformity, which, two days ago, was, upon the first reading, rejected by the lords. It was so universal, that I observed the dogs in the streets much more contumelious and quarrelsome than usual; and the very night before the bill went up, a committee of whig and tory cats, had a very warm and loud debate, upon the roof of our house. But why should we wonder at that, when the very ladies are split asunder into high church and low, and out of zeal for religion, have hardly time to say their prayers? The masks will have a crown more from any man of the other party, and count it a high point of merit to a member, who will not vote on their side *. For the rest, the whole body of the clergy, with a great majority of the house of commons, were violent for this bill. As great a majority of the lords, among whom, all the bishops, but four, were against it: the court and the rabble (as

some uncommon flight of imagination, insisted further, that he should live in Dublin, and keep a coach for his wife. Dr. Tisdall had more honour than to promise what he could not perform; the match was accordingly broken off: and in a short time after he married the Hon. Lettice Fortescue Alaund, third daughter of lord Fortescue; and obtained the rectory of Belfast, where he died in June 1736. Mrs. Johnson, with all her wit and beauty, appears not, after this period, to have received any proposal of marriage; Dr. Swift being universally imagined to have been her *præsidium*, her friend, and her admirer. These anecdotes (collected from a comparison of the Journal to Stella, Oct. 20, 1710, with Mr. Deane Swift's Essay, p. 87) illustrate an important part of our Author's private history. N.

* This account of the bustle, the hurry, and tumult, whilst the Occasional Conformity bill was depending, is a most lively specimen of our Author's wit and humour. N.

extremes

extremes often agree) were trimmers. I would be glad to know men's thoughts of it in Ireland: for myself, I am much at a loss, though I was mightily urged by some great people to publish my opinion. I cannot but think (if men's highest assurances are to be believed) that several, who were against this bill, do love the church, and do hate or despise presbytery. I put it close to my lord Peterborow just as the bill was going up, who assured me in the most solemn manner, that if he had the least suspicion, the rejecting this bill would hurt the church, or do kindness to the dissenters, he would lose his right hand rather than speak against it. The like profession I had from the bishop of Salisbury *, my lord Somers, and some others; so that I know not what to think, and therefore shall think no more; and you will forgive my saying so much on a matter, that all our heads have been so full of, to a degree, that while it was on the anvil, nothing else was the subject of conversation. I shall return in two months, in spite of my heart. I have here the best friends in nature, only want that little circumstance of favour and power; but nothing is so civil as a cast courtier. Pray let the ladies † know I had their letter, and will answer it soon; and that I obeyed Mrs. Johnson's commands, and waited on her mother, and other friend. You may add, if you please, that they advise her clearly to be governed by her friends there about the renewing her lease, and she may have her mortgage taken up here whenever she pleases, for the pay-

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet. N.

† Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley. N.

ment of her fine; and that we have a project for putting out her money in a certain lady's hands for annuities, if the parliament goes on with them, and she likes it.

I'll teach you a way to outwit Mrs. Johnson: it is a new-fashioned way of being witty, and they call it *a bite*. You must ask a bantering question, or tell some damned lie in a serious manner, and then she will answer or speak as if you were in earnest: and then cry you, "Madam, there's *a bite*." I would not have you undervalue this, for it is the constant amusement in court, and every where else among the great people; and I let you know it, in order to have it obtain among you, and teach a new refinement.

TO THE SAME.

LONDON, FEB. 3, 1703-4.

I AM content you should judge the order of friendship you are in with me by my writing to you, and accordingly you will find yourself the first after the ladies *; for I never write to any other, either friend or relation, till long after. I cannot imagine what paragraph you mean in my former, that was calculated for lord primate †; or how you could show it him without being afraid he might expect to see the rest. But I will take better me-

* Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley. N.

† Dr. Narcissus Marsh. See p. 12. N.

thods

thods another time, and you shall never, while you live, receive a syllable from me fit to be shown to a lord primate, unless it be yourself. Montaigne was angry to see his essays lie in the parlour window, and therefore wrote a chapter that forced the ladies to keep it in their closets. After some such manner I shall henceforth use you in my letters, by making them fit to be seen by none but yourself.

I am extremely concerned to find myself unable to persuade you into a true opinion of your own littleness, nor make you treat me with more distance and respect; and the rather, because I find all your little pretensions are owing to the credit you pretend with two ladies who came from England. I allow indeed the chamber in William-street to be Little England by their influence; as an ambassador's house, wherever it is, hath all the privileges of his master's dominions: and therefore, if you wrote the letter in their room, or their company (for in this matter their room is as good as their company), I will indulge you a little. Then for the Irish legs you reproach me with, I defy you. I had one indeed when I left your island; but that which made it Irish is spent and evaporate, and I look upon myself now as upon a new foot. You seem to talk with great security of your establishment near the ladies; though perhaps, if you knew what they say of you in their letters to me, you would change your opinion both of them and yourself.—*A bite* * *!*—And now you talk of a bite, I am ashamed of the ladies' being caught by you, when I had betrayed you, and given them warning.———I had heard

* Alluding to his former letter. N.

before

before of the choking, but never of the jest in the church: you may find from thence that women's prayers are things perfectly by rote, as they put on one stocking after another, and no more.—But, if she be good at blunders, she is as ready at come-offs; and to pretend her senses were gone, was a very good argument she had them about her.—You seem to be mighty proud (as you have reason if it be true) of the part you have in the ladies' good graces, especially of her you call *the party*. I am very much concerned to know it; but, since it is an evil I cannot remedy, I will tell you a story. A cast mistress went to her rival, and expostulated with her for robbing her of her lover. After a long quarrel, finding no good to be done; "Well," says the abdicated lady, "keep him, and "**** *** ** **** ****."—"No," says the other, "that will not be altogether so convenient; "however, to oblige you, I will do something that is "very near it."—*Dixi**.

I am mightily afraid the ladies are very idle, and do not mind their book. Pray put them upon reading; and be always teaching something to Mrs. Johnson, because she is good at comprehending, remembering, and retaining. I wonder she could be so wicked as to let the first word she could speak, after choking, be a pun. I differ from you; and believe the pun was just coming up, but met with the crumbs, and so, struggling for the wall, could neither of them get by, and at last came both out together.

* Dr. Swift, it must be acknowledged, has here adopted too much of the plan of Montaigne, which he mentions in the beginning of this letter. N.

It

It is a pleasant thing to hear you talk of Mrs. Dingley's blunders, when she has sent me a list with above a dozen of yours, that have kept me alive, and I hope will do so till I have them again from the fountain-head.—I desire Mrs. Johnson only to forbear punning * after the Finglas rate when Dilly † was at home.

I thank you for your bill, which was a cunning piece of civility to prevent me from wanting. However, I shall buy hats for you and Tom Leigh: for I have lately a bill of twenty pounds sent me for myself, and shall take up ten more here. I saw Tom Leigh's brother in the court of requests, and, knowing him to be your friend, I talked with him; and we will take some occasion to drink your health together, and Tom Leigh's—I will not buy you any pamphlets, unless you will be more particular in telling me their names or their natures, because they are usually the vilest things in nature. Leslie has written several of late, violent against presbyterians and low churchmen. If I had credit enough with you, you should never write but upon some worthy subject, and with long thought. But I look upon you as under a terrible mistake, if you imagine you cannot be enough distinguished without writing for the publick. Preach, preach, preach, preach, preach, preach; that is certainly your talent; and you will some years hence have time enough to be a writer. I tell you what I am con-

* Dr. Tisdall, whom his friends used familiarly to call Black Tisdall, was author of "Tom pun-sibi metamorphosed, or the Giber gibed:" a satire against Swift and Sheridan, in the Gulliveriana. N.

† The Rev. Dillon Ashe. N.

tent

tent you should do: choose any subject you please, and write for your private diversion, or by way of trial; but be not hasty to write for the world. Besides, who that has a spirit would write in such a scene as Ireland?—You and I will talk an hour on these matters. [Pox on the dissenters and independents! I would as soon trouble my head to write against a louse and a flea. I tell you what; I wrote against the bill that was against occasional conformity; but it came too late by a day, so I would not print it. But you may answer it if you please; for you know you and I are whig and tory *. And, to cool your insolence a little, know that the queen and court, and house of lords, and half the commons almost, are whigs; and the number daily increases †.]

I desire my humble service to the primate, whom I have not written to, having not had opportunity to perform that business he employed me in; but shall soon, now the days are longer. We are all here in great impatience at the king of Spain's delay, who yet continues in the Isle of Wight ‡.

* Dr. Tisdall was a zealous church-tory; and used to entertain Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley with convocation disputes. See Journal to Stella, Oct. 20, 1710. N.

† The lines included in these hooks were printed in one of the early editions, and there called "Part of a Letter." Perhaps they were taken from the Dean's first draught.—They were introduced by the following sentence, which Swift seems to have dropt for the sake of enlarging on his first thoughts: "I have been so long and so frequently pursued with a little paltry ailment of a noise in my ears, that I could never get humour and time to answer your letter." N.

‡ The archduke Charles arrived at Spithead, in his way from Holland to Portugal, Dec. 26, 1703. By invitation from queen Anne,

My humble service to dean Ryves, Dilly, Jones *, and other friends. And I assure you nobody can possibly be more, or I believe is half so entirely, yours, as

JON. SWIFT.

TO THE SAME.

LONDON, APRIL 20, 1704.

YESTERDAY coming from the country I found your letter, which had been four or five days arrived, and by neglect was not forwarded as it ought. You have got three epithets for my former letter, which I believe are all unjust: you say it was *unfriendly*, *unkind*, and *unaccountable*. The two first, I suppose, may pass but for one; saving (as capt. Fluellin says, the phrase is) *a little variation*. I shall therefore answer those two as I can; and for the last, I return it you again by these presents, assuring you, that there is more unaccountability in your letter's little finger, than in mine's whole body. And one strain I observe in it, which is frequent enough; you talk in a mystical sort of way, as if you would have me believe I had some great design,

Anne, he visited her majesty at Windsor on the 29th. On the 31st he went to the seat of the duke of Somerset at Petworth in Sussex; and set sail for Portugal, Jan. 5; but, being driven back by contrary winds, it was the 27th of February before he arrived at Lisbon. N.

* See an anecdote of dean Jones, in Dr. King's Works, ed. 1776, vol. ii. p. 250. N.

and

and that you had found it out: your phrases are, "that my letter had the effect you judge I designed; that you are amazed to reflect on what you judge the cause of it: and wish it may be in your power to love and value me while you live," &c. In answer to all this, I might with good pretence enough talk starchly, and affect ignorance of what you would be at; but my conjecture is, that you think I obstructed your inclinations, to please my own, and that my intentions were the same with yours. In answer to all which, I will upon my conscience and honour tell you the naked truth. First, I think I have said to you before, that, if my fortunes and humour served me to think of that state, I should certainly, among all persons on earth, make your choice; because I never saw that person whose conversation I entirely valued but hers; this was the utmost I ever gave way to. And, secondly, I must assure you sincerely, that this regard of mine never once entered into my head to be an impediment to you: but I judged it would, perhaps, be a clog to your rising in the world; and I did not conceive you were then rich enough to make yourself and her happy and easy. But that objection is now quite removed by what you have at present; and by the assurances of Eaton's livings. I told you indeed, that your authority was not sufficient to make overtures to the mother, without the daughter's giving me leave, under her own or her friend's hand; which, I think, was a right and a prudent step. However, I told the mother immediately, and spoke with all the advantages you deserve. But, the objection of your fortune being removed, I declare I have no other; nor shall any consideration

consideration of my own misfortune of losing so good a friend and companion as her, prevail on me, against her interest and settlement in the world, since it is held so necessary and convenient a thing for ladies to marry; and that time takes off from the lustre of virgins in all other eyes but mine. I appeal to my letters to herself, whether I was your friend or not in the whole concern; though the part I designed to act in it was purely passive, which is the utmost I will ever do in things of this nature, to avoid all reproach of any ill consequence, that may ensue in the variety of worldly accidents. Nay, I went so far both to her mother, herself, and I think to you, as to think it could not be decently broken; since I supposed the town had got it in their tongues, and therefore I thought it could not miscarry without some disadvantage to the lady's credit. I have always described her to you in a manner different from those, who would be discouraging; and must add, that though it has come in my way to converse with persons of the first rank, and of that sex, more than is usual to men of my level, and of our function; yet I have no where met with an humour, a wit, or conversation so agreeable, a better portion of good sense, or a truer judgment of men and things, I mean here in England; for as to the ladies of Ireland, I am a perfect stranger. As to her fortune, I think you know it already; and if you resume your designs, and would have farther intelligence, I shall send you a particular account.

I give you joy of your good fortunes, and envy very much your prudence and temper, and love of peace and settlement; the reverse of which has been the great uneasiness of my life, and is likely to continue

tinue so. And what is the result? *En queis consevimus agros!* I find nothing but the good words and wishes of a decayed ministry, whose lives and mine will probably wear out before they can serve either my little hopes, or their own ambition. Therefore I am resolved suddenly to retire, like a discontented courtier, and vent myself in study and speculation, till my own humour, or the scene here, shall change. JON. SWIFT.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING *.

MY LORD; TRIM, DEC. 31, 1704.

I DID intend to have waited on your grace before you went for England; but, hearing your voyage is fixed for the first opportunity of the wind, I could not forbear giving you a few minutes interruption, which I hope your grace will believe to be without any other design than that of serving you. I believe your grace may have heard, that I was in England last winter, when the dean and chapter of Christ Church had, I think, with great wisdom and discretion, chosen a most malicious, ignorant, and headstrong creature to represent them: wherein your grace cannot justly tax their prudence, since the cause † they are engaged in is not otherwise to

* Dr. William King, Archbishop of Dublin 1702—1729. N.

† A lawsuit between the archbishop of Dublin and the dean and chapter of the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, about his right of visiting them, which was given in favour of his grace. F.

be supported. And I do assure your grace (which perhaps others may have been cautious in telling you) that they have not been without success. For not only the general run in Doctors Commons was wholly on their side, which my lord bishop of Cloyne * observed as well as I; but that little instrument of theirs did use all his power to misrepresent your grace, and your cause, both in town and city, as far as his narrow sphere could reach. And he spared not to say, that your grace had personal resentment against him; and that you sought ruin, and threatened him with it. And I remember, at a great man's table, who has as much influence in England as any subject can well have, after dinner came in a master in chancery, whom I had before observed to be a principal person in Doctors Commons, when your grace's cause was there debating: and, upon occasion of being there, fell into discourse of it, wherein he seemed wholly an advocate for Christ Church: for all his arguments were only a chain of misinformations, which he had learned from the same hand; insomuch that I was forced to give a character of some persons, which otherwise I should have spared, before I could set him right, as I also did in the affair of the late dean of Derry †, which had been told with so many falsehoods and disadvantages to your grace, as it is hard to imagine.

I humbly presume to say thus much to your grace, that, knowing the prejudices that have been given, you may more easily remove them, which your presence will infallibly do.

* Dr. Charles Crow, 1702-1726. N.

† Dr. Bolton. N.

I would

I would also beg of your grace to use some of your credit toward bringing to a good issue the promise the queen made, at my lord bishop of Cloyne's intercession, to remit the first fruits and tenths of the clergy; unless I speak ignorantly, for want of information, and that it be a thing already done. But what I would mind your grace of is, that the crown-rent should be added, which is a great load upon many poor livings, and would be a considerable help to others. And I am confident, with some reason, that it would be easily granted; being, I hear, under a thousand pounds a year, and the queen's grant for England being so much more considerable than ours can be at best. I am very certain, that, if the bishop of Cloyne had continued to solicit it in England, it would easily have passed; but, his lordship giving it up wholly to the duke of Ormond *, I believe it has not been thought of so much as it ought. I humbly beg your grace's pardon for the haste and hurry of this, occasioned by that of the post, which is not very regular in this country; and, imploring your blessing, and praying to God for your good voyage, success, and return, I humbly kiss your grace's hands, and remain, my lord,

Your grace's most obedient
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

* Lord lieutenant of Ireland. N.

FROM THE EARL OF BERKELEY*.

CRANFORD, FRIDAY NIGHT, 1706-7.

I HOPE you continue in the mind of coming hither to-morrow: for upon my sincerity, which is more than most people's, I shall be heartily glad to see you as much as possible before you go to Ireland. Whether you are or are not for Cranford† I earnestly entreat you, if you have not done it already, that you would not fail of having your bookseller enable the archbishop of York‡ to give a book§ to the queen; for with Mr. Nelson‖ I am entirely of opinion, that her majesty's reading of that book of the Project for the increase of morality and piety, may be of very great use to that end.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, FEB. 5, 1707-8.

I HAVE been above a month expecting the representation your grace was pleased to promise to

* He had been envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General in 1689; and in 1699 and 1700 one of the lord justices of Ireland, where Dr. Swift had been his chaplain. This letter is endorsed by Dr. Swift, "Old earl of Berkeley, about 1706 or 1707." He died Sept. 24, 1710. N.

† Where a portrait of the Dean is still preserved. N.

‡ Dr. John Sharp, 1691—1713. N.

§ Swift's Project for the Advancement of Religion, and the Reformation of Manners. N.

‖ Robert Nelson, esq. the worthy and pious author of many excellent religious publications. N.

send me, which makes me apprehend your grace has been hindered by what you complained of, the clergy's backwardness in a point so very necessary to their service: and it is time ill lost at this juncture, while my lord lieutenant * is here, and in great credit at court, and would perhaps be more than ordinarily ready to serve the church in Ireland. If I have no directions from your grace by the end of this month, I shall think of my return to Ireland against the 25th of March, to endeavour to be chosen to the living of St. Nicholas, as I have been encouraged to hope; but would readily return, at a week's warning, to solicit that affair with my lord lieutenant while he stays here, or in any other manner your grace will please to direct.

Your grace knows long before this, that Dr. Milles † is bishop of Waterford. The court and archbishop of Canterbury ‡ were strongly engaged for another person, not much suspected in Ireland, any more than the choice already made was, I believe, either here or there.

The two houses are still busy in lord Peterborow's affair, which seems to be little more than an amusement, which it is conceived might at this time be spared, considering how slow we are said to be in our preparations; which, I believe, is the

* Thomas Herbert, earl of Pembroke. N.

† Dr. Thomas Milles was made bishop of Waterford May 11, 1707, and continued in that see till his death in 1740. He was uncle to Dr. Pococke (bishop successively of Ossory and of Meath), author of "Travels to the East," who died in 1765; and uncle to Dr. Jeremiah Milles, the late dean of Exeter, and president of the Society of Antiquaries, to whom bishop Milles left the whole of his fortune. N.

‡ Dr. Thomas Tenison. N.

only

only reason why it was talked the other day about the town, as if there would be soon a treaty of peace. There is a report of my lord Galway's death, but it is not credited. It is a perfect jest to see my lord Peterborow, reputed as great a whig as any in England, abhorred by his own party, and caressed by the tories.

The great question, whether the number of men in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of Almanza, was but 8600, when there ought to have been 29,600, was carried on Tuesday in the affirmative, against the court, without a division, which was occasioned by sir Thomas Hanmer's oratory. It seems to have been no party question, there being many of both glad and sorry for it. The court has not been fortunate in their questions this session; and I hear some of both parties expressing contrary passions upon it. I tell your grace bare matters of fact, being not inclined to make reflections; and if I were, I could not tell what to make, so oddly people are subdivided.

I am, my lord, your grace's most obedient
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

TO THE SAME.

LONDON, FEB. 12, 1707-8.

HAVING written what I had of business about three posts ago (whereof I wait an answer), perhaps it may be some amusement to you for a few minutes

to hear some particulars about the turns we have had at court. Yesterday the seals were taken from Mr. Harley, and sir Thomas Mansel gave up his staff. They went to Kensington together for that purpose, and came back immediately, and went together into the house of commons. Mr. St. John designs to lay down in a few days, as a friend of his told me, though he advised him to the contrary; and they talk that Mr. Bruges, and Mr. Coke the vice-chamberlain, with some others, will do the like. Mr. Harley had been some time, with the greatest art imaginable, carrying on an intrigue to alter the ministry, and began with no less an enterprize than that of removing the lord treasurer, and had nearly effected it, by the help of Mrs. Masham, one of the queen's dressers, who was a great and growing favourite, of much industry and insinuation. It went so far, that the queen told Mr. St. John a week ago, "that she was resolved to part with lord treasurer;" and sent him with a letter to the duke of Marlborough, which she read to him, to that purpose; and she gave St. John leave to tell it about the town, which he did without any reserve; and Harley told a friend of mine a week ago, that he was never safer in favour or employment. On Sunday evening last, the lord treasurer * and duke of Marlborough went out of the council; and Harley delivered a memorial to the queen, relating to the emperor and the war. Upon which the duke of Somerset rose, and said, "if her majesty suffered that fellow (pointing to Harley), to treat affairs of the war without advice of the general, he could not serve her;" and so left the

* Sidney lord Godolphin. N.

council. The earl of Pembroke, though in milder words, spoke to the same purpose: so did most of the lords: and the next day the queen was prevailed upon to turn him out, though the seals were not delivered till yesterday. It was likewise said, that Mrs. Masham is forbid the court; but this I have no assurance of. Seven lords of the whig party are appointed to examine Gregg, who lies condemned in Newgate; and a certain lord of the council told me yesterday, that there are endeavours to bring in Harley as a party in that business, and to carry it as far as an impeachment. All this business has been much fomented by a lord whom Harley had been chiefly instrumental in impeaching some years ago. The secretary always dreaded him, and made all imaginable advances to be reconciled, but could never prevail; which made him say yesterday to some who told it to me, "that he had laid his neck under their feet, and they trod upon it." I am just going this morning to visit that lord, who has a very free way of telling what he cares not who hears; and if I can learn any more particulars worth telling, you shall have them. I never in my life saw or heard such divisions and complications of parties as there have been for some time: you sometimes see the extremes of whig and tory driving on the same thing. I have heard the chief whigs blamed by their own party for want of moderation, and I know a whig lord in good employment who voted with the highest tories against the court, and the ministry, with whom he is nearly allied. My lord Peterborow's affair * is yet upon the anvil, and what

* See the preceding letter. N.

they will beat it out to, no man can tell. It is said that Harley had laid a scheme for an entire new ministry, and the men are named to whom the several employments were to be given. And though his project has miscarried, it is reckoned the greatest piece of court skill that has been acted there many years.—I have heard nothing since morning but that the Attorney * either has laid down, or will do it in a few days.

FROM MR. ADDISON.

SIR, FEB. 29, 1707-8.

MR. Frowde † tells me, that you design me the honour of a visit to-morrow morning; but my lord Sunderland ‡ having directed me to wait on him at nine o'clock, I shall take it as a particular favour, if you will give me your company at the George in Pall Mall about two § in the afternoon, when I may hope to enjoy your conversation more at leisure, which I set a very great value upon. I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

Mr. Steele and Frowde will dine with us.

* Sir Simon Harcourt, knight, then attorney-general, afterwards lord Harcourt. N.

† Philip Frowde, esq. son of Ashburnham Frowde, esq. comptroller of the Foreign office at the Post-office. He was the author of two tragedies, and was much beloved for his genius and learning, and the amiableness of his character. B.

‡ To whom Mr. Addison was secretary. B.

§ Then the fashionable hour for dining. N.

TO DR. STERNE *.

SIR, LONDON, APRIL 15, 1708.

I WONDER whether in the midst of your buildings, you ever consider that I have broke my shins, and have been a week confined, this charming weather, to my chamber, and cannot go abroad to hear the nightingales, or pun with my lord Pembroke. Pug is very well, and likes London wonderfully, but Greenwich better, where we could hardly keep him from hunting down the deer. I am told by some at court, that the bishop of Kildare † is utterly bent upon a removal on this side, though it be to St. Asaph: and then the question must be, whether Dr. Pratt will be dean of St. Patrick's, minister of St. Catharine's, or provost? For I tell you a secret, that the queen is resolved the next promotion shall be to one of Dublin education: this she told the lord lieutenant. Your new Waterford bishop ‡ franks his letters, which no bishop does that writes to me; I suppose it is some peculiar privilege of that see. The dissenters have made very good use here of your frights in Ireland upon the intended invasion; and the archbishop writes me word, that the address of Dublin city will be to the same purpose, which I think the

* Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; and afterwards bishop of Clogher. N.

† Dr. William Ellis. He continued at Kildare from 1705, till 1731. N.

‡ Dr. Milles. See before, p. 48. N.

clergy ought to have done their best to prevent, and I hope they did so. Here has the Irish speaker * been soliciting to get the test clause repealed by an act here; for which I hope he will be impeached when your parliament meets again, as well as for some other things I could mention. I hope you will be of my opinion in what I have told the archbishop about those addresses. And if his grace and clergy of the province send an address, I desire I may present it, as one of the chapter, which is the regular way; but I beg you will endeavour among you, that the church of Ireland gentlemen may send an address to set the queen and court right about the test: which every one here is of opinion you should do; or else I have reason to fear it will be repealed here next session; which will be of terrible consequence, both as to the thing and the manner, by the parliament here interfering in things purely of Ireland, that have no relation to any interest of theirs.

If you will not use me as your book-buyer, make use of sir Andrew Fountaine, who sends you his humble service, and will carry over a cargo as big as you please toward the end of summer, when he and I intend my lord lieutenant † shall come in our company without fail, and in spite of Irish reports, that say we shall come no more.

I reckon by this time you have done with masons and carpenters, and are now beginning with upholsterers, with whom you may go on as slow and

* Alan Brodrick, esq. afterwards lord Chancellor of Ireland, and created lord Brodrick, and viscount Midleton. N.

† Thomas earl of Pembroke. H.

soberly

soberly as you please. But pray keep the garden till I come. I am, sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Direct the enclosed, and deliver it to the greatest person in your neighbourhood.

TO THE SAME.

SIR, JUNE, 1708.

I WRIT to you some weeks ago, and enclosed (as now) a letter to your neighbour. But I fear it was kidnapped by some privateer, or else you were lazy or forgetful; or which is full as good, perhaps it had no need of an answer, and I would not for a good deal, that the former had miscarried, because the enclosed was wonderfully politick, and would have been read to you, as this, I suppose, will, though it be not half so profound. Now are you gone some summer ramble, and will not receive this in a fortnight; nor send the enclosed in as much more. I have often begged you would let me buy you one fifty pounds worth of books; but now I have been here so long, I believe you will have reason to apprehend I may sink the money. Sir Andrew Fountaine * will never be satisfied till he gets into the little room, with the three Ashes,

* Dr. Swift, in 1708, used to lodge with sir Andrew Fountaine, when he was in London. H.

the

the bishop of Killala *, and myself, to be happy at the expense of your wine and conversation.

Here is a sight of two girls joined together at the back, which, in the newsmonger's phrase, causes a great many speculations; and raises abundance of questions in divinity, law, and physick †. The boys of our town are mighty happy, for we are to have a beheading next week, unless the queen will interpose her mercy ‡. Here is a long lampoon publicly printed, abusing by name at length, all the young people of quality, that walk in the park §. These are effects of our liberty of the press.

I long to know what is become of your new house, whether there is yet a union between that and the little one, or whether the work stops for want of money; and you pretend it is only, that the boards may have time to season. We are still in pain for Mr. Dopping's being in one of the packet boats that were taken. He and many more have vowed never to return to England again; which, if they forget, they may properly be called vows written in water.

Pray, sir, let me hear from you some time this hot weather, for it will be very refreshing; and I am confined by business to this ugly town, which, at this season of the year is almost insufferable. I am, sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

* Dr. William Lloyd, 1690—1716. N.

† There is a particular account of them in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1758, vol. L. p. 311. B.

‡ Of Edward lord Griffin, who had been attainted by outlawry for high treason committed in the reign of King William, and was, on the 15th of May, 1708, ordered for execution; but reprieved from time to time, till his death. B.

§ A poem by Oldisworth, under the title of "St. James's Park." N.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, JUNE 10, 1708.

I SENT your grace a long letter several weeks ago, enclosed in one to the Dean *. I know not whether it came to your hands, having not since been honoured with your commands. I believe I told your grace, that I was directly advised by my lord Sunderland, my lord Somers, Mr. Southwell, and others, to apply to my lord treasurer †, in behalf of the clergy of Ireland; and lord Sunderland undertook to bring me to lord treasurer, which was put off for some time on account of the invasion. For, it is the method here of great ministers, when any public matter is in hand, to make it an excuse for putting off all private application. I deferred it some time longer, because I had a mind my lord Sunderland should go along with me; but either the one or the other was always busy, or out of the way; however, his lordship had prepared lord treasurer, and engaged him (as he assured me) to think well of the matter; and the other day lord treasurer appointed me to attend him. He took me into a private room, and told him my story; "that I was commanded by your grace, and desired by some other bishops, to use what little credit I had, to solicit (under the direction of my lord lieutenant) the remitting of the first fruits; which, from the favourable representation of his lordship to

* Dr. Sterne. H.

† Earl of Godolphin. N.

the

the queen about four years ago, the clergy were encouraged to hope would be granted; that I had been told it might be of use, if some person could be admitted to his presence, at his usual times of being attended, in order to put him in mind; for the rest, they relied entirely on his excellency's good office, and his lordship's dispositions to favour the church." He said, in answer, "he was passive in this business: that he supposed the lord lieutenant would engage in it, to whom, if I pleased, he would repeat what I had said." I replied, "I had the honour of being well known to his excellency; that I intended to ask his leave to solicit this matter with his lordship, but had not mentioned it yet, because I did not know whether I had credit enough to gain that access he was now pleased to honour me with: that upon his lordship's leave to attend him, signified to me by the earl of Sunderland, I went to inform his excellency, not doubting his consent; but did not find him at home, and therefore ventured to come: but, not knowing how his excellency might understand it, I begged his lordship to say nothing to my lord lieutenant, until I had the honour to wait on him again."

This my lord treasurer agreed to, and entering on the subject, told me, "that since the queen's grant of the first fruits here, he was confident, not one clergyman in England was a shilling the better." I told him, "I thought it lay under some incumbrances." He said, "it was true; but besides that, it was wholly abused in the distribution; that as to those in Ireland, they were an inconsiderable thing, not above 1000l. or 1200l. a year, which was almost nothing for the queen to grant, upon two

two conditions: First, That it should be well disposed of: And, secondly, that it should be well received, with due acknowledgments: in which cases he would give his consent: otherwise, to deal freely with me, he never would." I said, "as to the first, that I was confident the bishops would leave the methods of disposing it entirely to her majesty's breast; as to the second, her majesty and his lordship might count upon all the acknowledgments that the most grateful and dutiful subjects could pay to a prince. That I had the misfortune to be altogether unknown to his lordship, else I should presume to ask him, whether he understood any particular acknowledgments." He replied, "By acknowledgments, I do not mean any thing under their hands; but I will so far explain myself to tell you, I mean better acknowledgments than those of the clergy of England."

I then begged his lordship, "to give me his advice, what sort of acknowledgments he thought fittest for the clergy to make, which I was sure would be of mighty weight with them." He answered, "I can only say again, such acknowledgments as they ought."

We had some other discourse of less moment; and after license to attend him on occasion, I took my leave.

I tell your grace these particulars in his very words, as near as I can recollect, because I think them of moment, and I believe your grace may think them so too. I told Southwell all that had passed, and we agreed in our comments, of which I desired him now to inform you. He set out for Ireland this morning. I am resolved to see my lord

lord Sunderland in a day or two, and relate what my lord treasurer said, as he has commanded me to do; and perhaps I may prevail on him to let me know his lordship's meaning, to which I am prepared to answer, as Mr. Southwell will let you know.

At evening, the same day, I attended my lord lieutenant, and desired to know what progress he had made; and at the same time proposed, "that he would give me leave to attend lord treasurer only as a common solicitor, to refresh his memory." I was very much surprised at his answer, "that the matter was not before the treasurer, but entirely with the queen, and therefore it was needless;" upon which I said nothing of having been there. He said, "he had writ lately to your grace an account of what was done; that some progress was made; but they put it off because it was a time of war, but that he had some hopes it would be done:" but this is only such an account as his excellency thinks fit to give, although I sent it your grace by his orders. I hope that in his letters he is fuller. My lord treasurer on the other hand assured me, "he had the papers" (which his excellency denied); and talked of it as a matter that had long lain before him, which several persons in great employments assure me is and must be true.

Thus your grace sees that I shall have nothing more to do in this matter, farther than pursuing the cold scent of asking his excellency, once a month, how it goes on; which, I think, I had as good forbear, since it will turn to little account. All I can do is, to engage my lord Sunderland's interest

interest with my lord treasurer, whenever it is brought before him; or to hint it to some other persons of power and credit; and likewise to endeavour to take off that scandal the clergy of Ireland lie under, of being the reverse of what they really are, with respect to the revolution, loyalty to the queen, and settlement of the crown; which is here the construction of the word *Tory*.

I design to tell my lord treasurer, that, this being a matter my lord lieutenant has undertaken, he does not think proper I should trouble his lordship; after which, recommending it to his goodness, I shall forbear any farther mention. I am sensible how lame and tedious an account this is, and humbly beg your grace's pardon; but I still insist, that if it had been solicited four years ago by no abler hand than my own, while the duke of Ormond was in Ireland, it might have been done in a month: and I believe it may be so still, if his excellency lays any weight of his credit upon it; otherwise, God knows when. For myself, I have nothing to do here but to attend my lord lieutenant's motions, of whose return we are very uncertain, and to manage some personal affairs of my own. I beg the continuance of your grace's favour, and your blessing; and am, with all respect,

Your grace's most obedient, &c.

FROM ANTHONY HENLEY*, ESQ.

GRANGE, SEPT. 16, 1708.

YESTERDAY the weatherglass was at 28 inches, which is lower than ever I saw it; the wind was at East, a very dull quarter; the garden so wet, there was no looking into it; and I myself, by consequence, in the spleen. Before night, the glass rose, the wind changed, the garden dried, I received your letter, and was as well as ever I was in my life, to my thinking, though perhaps you may think otherwise. The reason why your letter was so long a coming to my hands, was, its being directed to me near Winchester; and Alresford is the post town nearest to me. If the officers should come to you, doctor, if you want a security, that your children shan't be troublesome to the parish, pray make use of me. I'll stand 'em all, though you were to have as many as the Holland countess. We have had a tedious expectation of the success of the siege of Lisle: the country people begin to think there is no such thing, and say the newspapers talk of it to make people bear paying taxes a year longer. I don't know how Steele† will get off of it: his veracity is at stake in Hantshire. Pray desire him to take the town, though he should

* Of the Grange, in the County of Southampton, member of parliament for Melcombe Regis. He was a person of great abilities and learning; who mixed humour in the most serious debates. He was father of the lord chancellor, Robert Earl of Northington. B.

† Then writer of the Gazette. B.

leave

leave the citadel for a nest-egg. I ha'nt the honour to know colonel Hunter: but I never saw him in so good company as you have put him in, lord Halifax, Mr. Addison, Mr. Congreve, and the Gazetteer *. Since he is there, let him stay there. Pray, doctor, let me know whether writing letters be talking to one's self, or talking to other folks: for I think the world has settled it, that talking to one's self, which offends nobody, is madness; and talking to other people, which generally is not quite so harmless, is wit, or good breeding, or religion, or—I won't write a word more till you have satisfied me what I have been doing all this while. I am sure one need not have writ two pages to introduce my assuring you, that I am

Your most affectionate humble servant,

A. HENLEY.

FROM THE SAME.

DEAR DOCTOR, NOV. 2, 1708.

THOUGH you won't send me your broomstick †, I'll send you as good a reflection upon death as even Adrian's himself, though the fellow was but an old farmer of mine, that made it. He had been ill a good while; and when his friends saw him a going, they all came croaking about him as usual; and one

* Steele. N.

† Meditation on a Broomstick, written by Dr. Swift in 1703. N.

of them asking him how he did? he replied, in great pain, "If I could but get this same breath out of my body, I'd take care, by G—, how I let it come in again." This, if it were put in fine Latin, I fancy would make as good a sound as any I have met with. I am,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

A. HENLEY.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, NOV. 9, 1708.

YOUR grace's letter of September 7, found me in Kent, where I took the opportunity to retire, during my lord Pembroke's absence with his new lady, who are both expected to-morrow. I went afterward to Epsom, and returned but yesterday: this was the cause of my so long omitting to acknowledge your letter. I am ready to agree with your grace, that very wrong representations are made of things and persons here, by people who reside on this side but a short time, converse at second or third hand, and on their return make a vanity of knowing more than they do. This I have observed myself in Ireland, even among people of some rank and quality; and I believe your grace will proceed on much better grounds, by trusting to your own wisdom and experience of things, than such intelligence.

I spoke formerly all I knew of the twentieth parts; and whatever Mr. D—— has said in his

letters about staying until a peace, I do assure your grace, is nothing but words. However, that matter is now at an end. There is a new world here; and yet I agree with you, that if there be an interregnum, it will be the properest time to address my lord treasurer; and I shall second it with all the credit I have, and very openly; and I know not (if one difficulty lies in the way) but it may prove a lucky juncture.

On my return from Kent (the night of the prince's* death), I staid a few days in town before I went to Epsom: I then visited a certain great man, and we entered very freely into discourse upon the present juncture. He assured me, there was no doubt now of the scheme holding about the admiralty †, the government of Ireland ‡, and presidency of the council §; the disposition whereof your grace knows as well as I; and although I care not to mingle public affairs with the interest of so private a person as myself, yet, upon such a revolution, not knowing how far my friends may endeavour to engage me in the service of a new government, I would beg your grace to have favourable thoughts of me on such an occasion; and to assure you, that no prospect of making my fortune, shall ever prevail on me to go against what becomes a man of conscience and truth, and an entire friend to the established church. This I say, in case such a thing should happen; for my own thoughts are turned another way, if the earl of Berkeley's journey to Vienna

* George prince of Denmark, husband of queen Anne. N.
† Orford. N. ‡ Wharton. N. § Somers. N.

holds, and the ministry will keep their promise of making me the queen's secretary *; by which I shall be out of the way of parties, until it shall please God I have some place to retire to, a little above contempt: or, if all fail, until your grace and the dean of St. Patrick's shall think fit to dispose of that poor town-living † in my favour.

Upon this event of the prince's death, the contention designed with the court about a speaker is dropped, and all agree in sir Richard Onslow, which is looked on as another argument for the scheme succeeding. This I had from the same hand.

As to a comprehension which your grace seems to doubt an intention of, from what was told me, I can say nothing: doubtless, it must be intended to come to that at last, if not worse; but I believe at present, it was meant, that there should be a consent to what was endeavoured at in your parliament last session.

I thought to have writ more largely to your grace, imagining I had much matter in my head; but it fails, or is not convenient at present. If the scheme holds, I shall make bold to tell your grace my thoughts as formerly, under cover, because I believe there will be a great deal to be thought of and done. A little time may produce a great deal. Things are now in great suspense both at home and abroad. The parliament, we think, will have no prorogation. There is no talk of the duke of Marlborough's return yet. Speculative people talk of a peace this winter,

* To the embassy at Vienna. N. † St. Nicholas. See p. 48. N.

of

of which I can form no prospect, according to our demands. I am, my lord,

Your grace's most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Your grace will please to direct your commands to me at St. James's coffee-house, in St. James's street.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, NOV. 20, 1708.

I HAVE yours of the 9th instant, and if the scheme of alteration holds, as represented, I despair of our twentieth parts in the present method; yet I can't think it proper to move in any new course, till the declaration of what is intended be more authentick. I have no good ground for my doubt; and yet in my own mind, I make some question, whether all things will be just as surmised. If I find this to be so in earnest, I will then endeavour to obtain an address to my lord treasurer, which, I suppose, has been hitherto wanting; but, if the matter stick on any considerations not agreeable, there is an end of it. To deal freely, I have very little hope of succeeding any way; but it will not make things worse to try the experiment.

I understand some dissenters from hence will apply to the parliament of England this session, to obtain a repeal of the test, and for a toleration on a larger foot than in England; and that a fund

is raised, and agents appointed to solicit their affairs, by the presbyters of the North. I have had some intimation, that all dissenters are not of a mind in this point; the other sects, if I am rightly informed, being as much afraid of them as of us; and that they would rather be as they are, than run the hazard of coming under the *jus divinum* of presbytery. Something pleasant enough is said to have happened on this occasion. A certain person endeavoured to comfort them, and remove their jealousy, by telling them they needed not to fear; for that the greatest friends to dissenters, and who would be most zealous for toleration, never designed to establish any church, but only to destroy that, which had the protection of the laws. Whether this will give them satisfaction I can't tell; but am certain, that if any have so wicked a design, they will fail in in it.

I am often alarmed with the fears of some good men, who would persuade me, that religion is in danger of being rooted out of the hearts of men; and they wondered to see me so sanguine in the cause. But I tell them, that I believe it is with religion, as with paternal affection; some profligate wretches may forget it, and some may dose themselves so long with perverse thinking, as not to see any reason for it: but in spite of all the ill-natured and false philosophy of these two sorts of people, the bulk of mankind will love their children. And so it is, and will be with the fear of God and religion: whatever is general has a powerful cause, though every one cannot find it out.

But I have forgot my dissenters: the reason of their applying in Great Britain is, because they see little

little reason to hope for success here; and if I can judge of the sense of gentlemen that compose the parliament, they never seemed to be farther from the humour of gratifying them.

As to your own concern, you see hardly any thing valuable is obtained any otherwise than by the government; and therefore if you can attend the next lord lieutenant, you, in my opinion, ought not to decline it. I assure myself that you are too honest to come on ill terms; nor do I believe any will explicitly be proposed. I could give several reasons why you should embrace this, though I have no exception against your secretaryship *: except that you may lose too much time in it, which, considering all things, you cannot so well spare at this time of the day.

As to my own part, I thank God, I was never much frightened by any alterations: neither king James, nor the earl of Tyrconnel, shocked me. I always comforted myself with the 112th psalm, 7th verse †. I never was a favourite of any government, nor have I a prospect of being so, though I believe I have seen forty changes; nor would I advise any friend to sell himself to any, so as to be their slave. I could write some other things, that you would desire to know; but pen and ink are dangerous tools in some men's hands, and I love a friend with an appetite. I am, *&c.*

W. DUBLIN.

* To the embassy at Vienna. N.

† "He shall not be afraid of evil tidings; his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord." B.

TO THE SAME *.

MY LORD, LONDON, NOV. 30, 1708.

I WRIT to you about a fortnight ago, after my return from the country, and gave you some account of an intended change at court, which is now finished. Care was taken to put lord Pembroke in mind of the first fruits before he went out of his office; but it was needless, for his excellency had it at heart, and the thing is done, of which, I suppose, you have an account. You know who goes over chaplain; the archbishop of Canterbury, and several other bishops, and the lord treasurer himself, solicited that matter in a body; it was thought absolutely necessary, considering the dismal notion they have here of so many high church archbishops among you; and your friend * made no application, for reasons left you to guess. I cannot yet learn whether you are to have a new parliament; but I am apt to think you will, and that it must be thought necessary. The affair of Drogheda † has made a noise here, and like every thing else on your side, is used as a handle: I have had it run in my ears from certain persons. I hope you are prepared to take off the sacramental test, because that will be a means to have it taken off here among us; and that the clergy will be for it, in consideration of the queen's

* He means himself. The archbishop had advised him to apply for the chaplainship to lord Wharton, but Dr. Lambert was appointed. See p. 69. N.

† Some disputes in corporation affairs. F.

bounty;

bounty; and that men in employment will be so wise as to please the court, and secure themselves; but, to think there is any design of bringing the Scotch into offices, is a mere scandal.

Lord Pembroke is to have the admiralty only a few months, then to have a pension of 4000l. a year, and to retire; and it is thought lord Orford will succeed him, and then it is hoped, there will be an entire change in the admiralty; that sir John Leake will be turned out, and the whigs so well confirmed, that it will not be in the power of the court, upon a peace, to bring the balance on the other side.

One Mr. Shute is named for secretary to lord Wharton: he is a young man, but reckoned the shrewdest head in Europe: and the person in whom the presbyterians chiefly confide: and, if money be necessary toward the good work in Ireland, it is reckoned he can command as far as 100,000l. from the body of dissenters here. As to his principles, he is truly a moderate man, frequenting the church and the meeting indifferently, &c.*

The clergy are here in an uproar upon their being prorogued: the archbishop of Canterbury takes pains to have it believed it was a thing done without his knowledge. A divine of note (but of the wrong side) was with me the other day, and said,

* On this passage it has been observed by Mr. Luson (Duncombe's Collection, Append. to vol. II. p. xliii.): "This fair character of a Whig from Swift is so extraordinary, that it seems as if nothing but truth could have extorted it. It is, however, observable, that with no other correspondent, the extravagance of Swift's humour, and the virulence of his prejudices, are half so much restrained, as in his letters to Dr. King. He certainly either feared or respected this prelate, more than any other person with whom he corresponded." N.

he had it from a good hand, that the reason of this proceeding was an intention of putting the parliament on examining and correcting courts ecclesiastick, *&c.*

The archbishop of Dublin * is represented here as one that will very much oppose our designs; and, although I will not say that the Observator *is paid for writing as he does* †; yet I can positively affirm to you, that whatever he says of that archbishop, or of the affairs of Ireland, or those here, is exactly agreeable to *our thoughts and intentions.*

This is all I can recollect, fit to inform you at present.—If you please, I shall from time to time send you any thing that comes to my knowledge, that may be worth your notice. I am, *&c.*

TO DEAN STERNE.

SIR, NOV. 30, 1708.

I RECEIVED a letter from you the Lord knows when, for it has no date; but I conceive it to have been a month ago, for I met it when I came from Kent, where, and at Epsom, I passed about six weeks, to divert myself the fag-end of the summer, which proved to be the best weather we had. I am glad you made so good a progress in your building; but you had the emblem of industry in your mind, for the bees begin at the top and work

* The Prelate to whom Swift is writing. N.

† This is pretty nearly saying it. N.

downward,

downward, and at last work themselves out of house and home, as many of you builders do.

You know before this the great revolution we have had at court *; and that Dr. Lambert is chaplain to the lord lieutenant: the archbishop of Canterbury, several other bishops, and my lord treasurer himself would needs have it so. I made no manner of application for that post, upon certain reasons, that I shall let you know, if ever I have the happiness to see you again.

My lord Sunderland rallied me on that occasion, and was very well pleased with my answer, "that I observed one thing in all new ministries: for the first week or two they are in a hurry, or not to be seen; and when you come afterward, they are engaged."

What I have to say of the publick, &c. will be enclosed †, which, I suppose, will be shown you, and you will please to deliver as formerly. Lord Pembroke takes all things mighty well, and we pun together as usual; and he either makes the best use, or the best appearance with his philosophy of any man I ever knew; for it is not believed he is pleased at heart upon many accounts.

Sir Andrew Fountaine is well, and has either writ to you last post, or designs it soon.

Dr. Pratt is buying good pennyworths of books for the college, and has made some purchases that would set you a longing. You have heard our

* On the 25th of November, 1708, the earl of Pembroke was made lord high admiral, the earl of Wharton lord lieutenant of Ireland, and lord Somers lord president of the council. H.

† This was the preceding letter of the same date, to Archbishop King. N.

mighty

mighty news* is extremely dwindled in our last packets. However, we expected a very happy end of the campaign, which this sudden thaw, and foul weather, begun here yesterday, will soon bring to an issue. I am, &c.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, JAN. 6, 1708-9.

BEFORE I received the honour of your grace's of November 20, I had sent one enclosed, &c. with what account I could of affairs. Since that time, the measures are altered of dissolving your parliament, which, doubtless, is their wisest course, for certain obvious reasons, that your grace will easily apprehend; and I suppose you have now received directions about proroguing it, for I saw the order some days ago. I should have acknowledged your grace's letter, if I had not been ever since persecuted with a cruel distemper of giddiness in my head, that would not suffer me to write or think of any thing, and of which I am now slowly recovering. I sent you word of the affair of the first fruits being performed, which my lord Pembroke had the goodness to send me immediate notice of. I seldom see his lordship now, but when he pleases to command me; for he sees nobody in publick, and is very full

* On the 11th of November, 1708, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene obliged the elector of Bavaria to raise the siege of Brussels. H.

of

of business. I fancy your grace will think it necessary that in due time his lordship should receive some kind of thanks in form. I have a fair pretence to merit in this matter, although, in my own conscience, I think I have very little, except my good wishes, and frequent reminding my lord Pembroke. But two great men in office, giving me joy of it, very frankly told me, "that if I had not smoothed the way, by giving them and the rest of the ministry a good opinion of the justice of the thing, it would have met with opposition;" upon which I only remarked what I have always observed in courts, that when a favour is done, there is no want of persons to challenge obligations. Mean time, I am in a pretty condition, who have bills of merit given me, that I must thankfully acknowledge, and yet cannot honestly offer them in payment. I suppose the clergy will, in due time, send the queen an address of thanks for her favour.

I very much applaud your grace's "sanguine temper," as you call it, and your comparison of religion to paternal affection; but the world is divided into two sects, those that hope the best, and those that fear the worst; your grace is of the former, which is the wiser, the nobler, and most pious principle; and although I endeavour to avoid being of the other, yet upon this article I have sometimes strange weaknesses. I compare true religion to learning and civility, which have ever been in the world, but very often shifted their scenes; sometimes entirely leaving whole countries where they have long flourished, and removing to others that were before barbarous; which has been the case of Christianity itself, particularly in many parts

parts of Africa; and how far the wickedness of a nation may provoke God Almighty to inflict so great a judgment, is terrible to think. But as great princes, when they have subdued all about them, presently have universal monarchy in their thoughts; so your grace, having conquered all the corruptions in a diocese, and then pursued your victories over a province, would fain go farther, and save a whole kingdom, and would never be quiet, if you could have your will, until you had converted the world.

And this reminds me of a pamphlet lately come out, pretended to be a letter hither from Ireland, against repealing the test *; wherein your grace's character is justly set forth: for the rest, some parts are very well and others peurile, and some facts, as I am informed, wrong represented. The author has gone out of his way to reflect on me, as a person likely to write for repealing the test, which I am sure is very unfair treatment. This is all I am likely to get by the company I keep. I am used like a sober man with a drunken face, have the scandal of the vice without the satisfaction. I have told the ministry, with great frankness, my opinion, that they would never be able to repeal it, unless such changes should happen as I could not foresee; and they all believe I differ from them in that point.

Mr. Addison, who goes over first secretary, is a most excellent person; and being my most intimate friend, I shall use all my credit to set him right in his notions of persons and things. I spoke to him with great plainness upon the subject of the test;

* His own; see the third volume of this collection. N.

and

and he says, he is confident my lord Wharton will not attempt it, if he finds the bent of the nation against it *.— I will say nothing farther of his character to your grace at present, because he has half persuaded me to have some thoughts of returning to Ireland, and then it will be time enough: but if that happens otherwise, I presume to recommend him to your grace as a person you will think worth your acquaintance.

My lord Berkeley begins to drop his thoughts of going to Vienna; and indeed I freely gave my opinion against such a journey for one of his age and infirmities. And I shall hardly think of going secretary without him, although the emperor's ministers here think I will, and have writ to Vienna. I agree with your grace, that such a design was a little too late at my years; but, considering myself wholly useless in Ireland, and in a parish with an audience of half a score, and it being thought necessary that the queen should have a secretary at that court, my friends telling me it would not be difficult to compass it, I was a little tempted to pass some time abroad, until my friends would make me a little easier in my fortunes at home. Besides, I had hopes of being sent in time to some other court, and in the mean while the pay would be forty shillings a day, and the advantage of living, if I pleased, in lord Berkeley's family. But, I believe, this is now all at an end. I am, my lord, with the greatest respect,

Your grace's most obedient and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

My lord Wharton says, he intends for Ireland the beginning of March.

* *i. e.* taking it off. N.

A MONSIEUR MONSIEUR HUNTER,

GENTILHOMME ANGLOIS, à PARIS.

SIR, LONDON, JAN. 12, 1708-9.

I KNOW no people so ill used by your men of business, as their intimate friends. About a fortnight after Mr. Addison had received the letter you were pleased to send me, he first told me of it with an air of recollection, and after ten farther of grace, thought fit to give it me; so you know where to fix the whole blame that it was no sooner acknowledged. 'Tis a delicate expedient you prisoners have of diverting yourselves in an enemy's country, for which other men would be hanged. I am considering, whether there be no way of disturbing your quiet by writing some dark matter, that may give the French court a jealousy of you. I suppose, monsieur Chamillard, or some of his commissaries, must have this letter interpreted to them, before it comes to your hands; and therefore I here think good to warn them, that if they exchange you under six of their lieutenant-generals, they will be losers by the bargain. But, that they may not mistake me, I do not mean as *viceroy de Virginia, mais comme le colonel* Hunter. I would advise you to be very tender of your honour, and not fall in love; because I have a scruple, whether you can keep your parole, if you become a prisoner to the ladies; at least it will be scandalous for a free Briton to drag two chains at once. I presume, you have the liberty of Paris, and fifty miles round, and have a very

very light pair of fetters, contrived to ride or dance in, and see Versailles, and every place else, except St. Germain *. I hear the ladies call you already *notre prisonnier Hunter, le plus honnête garçon du monde.* Will you French yet own us Britons to be a brave people? Will they allow the duke of Marlborough to be a great general? Or, are they all as partial as their gazetteers? Have you yet met any French colonel whom you remember to have formerly knocked from his horse, or shivered at least a lance against his breast-plate? Do you know the wounds you have given, when you see the scars? Do you salute your old enemies with

— "Stetimus tela aspera contra,
Contulimusque manus †." VIRG. XI. 283.

Vous savez que—Monsieur d'Addison, notre bon ami, est fait secrétaire d'état d'Irlande; and unless you make haste over, and get my Virginian bishoprick, he will persuade me to go with him, for the Vienna project is off; which is a great disappointment to the design I had of displaying my politics at the emperor's court. I do not like the subject you have assigned me to entertain you with. Crowder is sick, to the comfort of all quiet people, and Frowde is *rêveur à peindre.* Mr. Addison and I often drink your health, and this day I did it with Will Pate ‡, a certain adorer of yours, who is both a *bel esprit* and a woollen draper. The whigs carry

* Then the palace of the queen dowager of James II. and the pretender. H.

† In war oppos'd with threat'ning arms we rag'd.
And fiercely in the deadly strife engag'd,

‡ See Journal to Stella, Sept. 17, Oct. 6, 1710. H.

all

all before them, and how far they will pursue their victories, we underrate whigs can hardly tell. I have not yet observed the tories noses; their number is not to be learnt by telling of noses, for every tory has not a nose.

'Tis a loss, you are not here to partake of three weeks frost, and eat gingerbread in a booth by a fire upon the Thames. Mrs. Floyd looked out with both her eyes, and we had one day's thaw: but she drew in her head, and it now freezes as hard as ever.

As for the convocation, the queen thought fit to prorogue it, though at the expense of Dr. Atterbury's displeasure, who was designed their prolocutor, and is now raving at the disappointment.

I amuse myself sometimes with writing verses to Mrs. Finch, and sometimes with projects for the uniting of parties, which I perfect over night, and burn in the morning. Sometimes Mr. Addison and I steal to a pint of bad wine, and wish for no third person but you; who, if you were with us, would never be satisfied without three more. You know I believe that poor Dr. Gregory * is dead, and Keil * solicits to be his successor; but party reaches even to lines and circles, and he will hardly carry it being reputed a tory, which yet he utterly denies. We are here nine times madder after operas than ever; and have got a new castrato from Italy, called Nicolini, who exceeds Valentini, I know not how many bars length. Lords Somers and Halifax are as well as busy statesmen can be in

* Two famous mathematicians who published several treatises in that science and in astronomy. H.

parliament time. Lord Dorset is nobody's favourite but yours and Mr. Prior's, who has lately dedicated his book of poems to him; which is all the press has furnished us of any value since you went. Mr. Pringle, a gentleman of Scotland, succeeds Mr. Addison in the secretary's office; and Mr. Shute *, a notable young presbyterian gentleman under thirty years old, is made a commissioner of the customs. This is all I can think of, either public or private, worth telling you: perhaps you have heard part or all of both, from other hands, but you must be content: pray let us know what hopes we have of seeing you, and how soon; and be so kind, or just, to believe me always

Your most faithful, humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

P. S. Mr. Steele presents his most humble service to you; and I cannot forbear telling you of your *méchanceté* to impute the "Letter of Enthusiasm" to me; when I have some good reasons to think the author is now at Paris.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVERENDSIR, DUBLIN, FEB. 10, 1708-9.

I RECEIVED yours of last January the 6th, and you will find but a sorry correspondent of me. I have been confined near two months this winter and forbid pen and ink by my physician; though, I thank God, I was more frightened, as it hap-

* See p. 71.

pened, than hurt. I had a colick about the year 1696, that brought me to extremity, and all despaired of my life, and the news-letters reported me dead. It began at the same time of the year, and the same way it did then, and the winters were much alike; and I verily believe had I not had the assistance of my old physician sir Patrick Dun *, I should have run the same course, which I could not have supported. But with a little physick, and the Spa and Bath waters, I escaped without other hardships, than keeping at home; and so much for private affairs.

As to the publick, I had a letter from my lord Pembroke, wherein he told me the first-fruits and twentieth parts were granted, and that my lord lieutenant will bring over the queen's letter for them. I returned him my thanks, and as soon as the order comes, he will have a publick acknowledgment.

I have seen a letter, that passes as from a member of the house, &c. I think your judgment concerning it is very just. But pray by what artifice did you contrive to pass for a whig? As I am an honest man, I courted the greatest whigs I knew, and could not gain the reputation of being counted one.

But you need not be concerned: I will engage you will lose nothing by that paper. I wish some facts had been well considered before vouched: if any one matter in it prove false, what do you think

* This gentleman founded three professorships in the University of Dublin; viz. theory and practice of physick, chirurgery and midwifery, pharmacy and the *materia medica*. H.

will come of the paper? In short, it will not be in the power of man to hinder it from a warm entertainment.

As to the test, I believe that matter is over for this season. I was much for dissolving this present parliament, and calling a new one this spring. I had a pretty good account of the future elections, which, as far as my acquaintance reached, were settled: and I was sure, that without great force and artifice, the new members would never have repealed the test; but I did not know what the influence of a lord lieutenant * (when well acquainted in the kingdom, and who knew how to take his measures justly) might have affected, and we know very well what force, management and timing matters have; and there is hardly any thing but powerful persuasions, terrour, and ostentation of interest may effect, especially in popular elections. And to confess the truth to you, I am not altogether easy in that matter yet, especially if things take any new turn in England. It is whispered, but I know not by what authority, that the queen herself was at the bottom of what passed in the house of commons with you, and that the ministry screened her in that affair, for reasons that may be guessed at.

I am wonderfully pleased at the good character you give Mr. Addison. If he be the man that you represent him to be (and I have confidence in your judgment), he will be able to serve his lord effectually, and procure himself love and respect

* Thomas earl of Wharton had been appointed to that post, Nov. 25, 1708. B.

here. I can't say it will be in my power to do him any service: but my good wishes and endeavours shall not be wanting.

Mr. Stoughton preached a sermon * here on the 30th of January, king Charles's martyrdom, that gives great offence: the government heard it, but I was ill at home, which dean Sterne will needs have a providence. If the representation I have of it be true, I am sure I should have suspended him, if it had cost me both my reputation and interest. I have represented what I have heard of it, and have discoursed my lord chancellor about it, and told him of what consequence I think it to be, both to him and us, and that it should not pass without censure. I have not as yet seen my lord primate. Wise men are doing all they can to extinguish faction; and fools and elves are throwing firebrands. Assure yourself this had an ill effect on the minds of most here; for, though they espouse the revolution, they heartily abhor forty-one. And nothing can create the ministry more enemies, and be a greater handle for calumny, than to represent them, and those that espoused them, to be such as murdered king Charles I. and such are all, that approve or excuse it.

As to your own affairs, I wish you could have come over chaplain as I proposed; but since a more powerful interest interposed, I believe you had best use your endeavours there; but if nothing happens before my lord lieutenant comes over, you had best

* This sermon, preached at Christ Church, Dublin, was burnt by the common hangman, Nov. 9, 1711. See Swift's opinion of the preacher, in a letter to the lord Primate, March 26, 1711. N.

make

make us a visit. Had you been here, I believe something might have been done for you before this. The deanery of Down is fallen, and application has been made for it to my lord lieutenant, but it yet hangs, and I know not what will become of it; but if you could either get into it, or get a good man with a comfortable benefice removed to it, it might make present provision for you. I have many things more to say; but they are so much of a piece with these I have writ already, that you may guess at them all by this sample. God be with you: amen.

WILLIAM DUBLIN.

MR. LE CLERC TO MR. ADDISON.

A AMSTERDAM, LE 12 DE FEVRIER, 1709.

JE m'étois donné l'honneur de vous écrire, monsieur, dès le commencement de cette année, pour vous prier surtout d'une chose, qu'il me seroit important de savoir au plutôt. Cependant je n'ai reçu aucune de vos nouvelles. J'ai appris seulement, que vous quittiez le poste, où vous étiez, pour aller en Irlande en qualité de secrétaire de mylord Wharton. Je m'en réjouis avec vous, dans la supposition, que ce dernier emploi vaut mieux que le précédent, quoique je sente bien, que je perdrai par votre éloignement. Je ne laisse pas de vous souhaiter toute sorte de satisfaction dans votre nouvel emploi, & de prier Dieu qu'il vous donne un heureux succès en tout ce que vous entreprendrez.

Je vous avois prié, monsieur, de m'envoyer le nom propre & les titres de mylord Halifax, et de lui demander même, si vous le trouviez à propos, la permission de lui dédier mon Tite-Live. Comme vous m'aviez marqué par Mr. Philips, que vous aviez oublié la feuille, qui me manquoit du recueil de Mr. Rymer, je vous avois mandé, que c'est la feuille 10 T. ou les 4 pages, qui précédent immédiatement l'indice des noms, dans le tome I. Si vous l'avez eue depuis, faites-moi la grace de l'envoyer à Mess. Toutton & Stuiguer, bien enveloppée, et de mettre mon addresse au dessus. Je suppose, monsieur, que cette lettre vous trouvera encore à Londres, parce qu'on dit, que mylord Wharton ne partira que vers le mois d'Avril. Il ne se passe rien de nouveau ici dans la république des lettres, qui mérite de vous être mandé. Les jesuites de Paris ont condamné en termes très-forts les sentimens du P. Hardouïn, & l'on contraint de les rétracter d'une manière honteuse. On verra quelle en sera la suite. Je voudrois pouvoir vous être utile ici à quelque chose: vous verriez par-là, combien je suis, monsieur, votre très humble & très obéissant serviteur, J. LE CLERC

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, MARCH 12, 1708-9.

THE business of the twentieth parts and first-fruits is still on the anvil. We are given to understand, that her majesty designs, out of her royal bounty,

bounty, to make a grant of them for charitable uses, and that it is designed this grant should come over with his excellency the lord lieutenant. The bishops in this town at present thought it reasonable to apprise his excellency of the affair, and to address him for his favour in it, which accordingly is done by this post. We have sent with this address the representation made at first to her majesty about it; the reference to the commissioners of the revenue here, and their report, together with the memorial to the lord Pembroke. In that there is mention of the state of the diocese of Dublin, as a specimen of the condition of the clergy of Ireland, by which it will appear how much we stand in need of such a gift. This we could not well send to his excellency, because it is very long, and we apprehend, that it might be improper to give him so much trouble at first, before he was any way apprised of the matter; but, if you think that his excellency may judge it agreeable that it should be laid before him, I entreat the favour of you to apply to my lord Pembroke's secretary, with whom it is, for the original, or a copy of it, and present it to my lord lieutenant, or leave it with his secretary. I have engaged for you to my brethren, that you will be at this trouble: and there is a memorial to this purpose, at the foot of the copy of the representation made to the earl of Pembroke, transmitted with the other papers. What charges you are at upon this account, will be answered by me.

The good impression you have given me of Mr. Addison, my lord lieutenant's secretary, has encouraged me to venture a letter to him on this subject,

subject, which I have enclosed, and make you the full and sole judge whether it ought to be delivered. I can't be competently informed by any here, whether it may be pertinent or no; but I may and do depend on your prudence in the case, who, I believe, will neither omit what may be useful, nor suffer me to do an officious or improper thing. I mix no other matter with this, beside what agrees with all occasions, the tender of the hearty prayers and wishes for you of, sir, your, &c.

WILL. DUBLIN.

The reversal of my lord Slane's * outlawry makes a mighty noise through this kingdom; for aught I can remember, the destroying of our woollen manufactory did not cause so universal a consternation.

A MONSIEUR MONSIEUR HUNTER,

GENTILHOMME ANGLOIS, à PARIS.

SIR, LONDON, MARCH 22, 1708-9.

I AM very much obliged to you for the favour of a kind reproach you sent me, in a letter to Mr.

* Christopher Fleming, baron of Slane, having taken up arms for king James in 1688 in Ireland, where he was colonel of a regiment of foot, afterward lost his estate, and was outlawed, till queen Anne reversed his attainder; upon which the house of commons of Ireland, on the 3d of June 1709, unanimously resolved, that an address be made to the queen, "setting forth the fatal consequences of reversing the outlawries of persons attainted of treason for the rebellions in 1641 and 1688." Lord Slane was, in November 1713, created by her majesty viscount Longford. B.

Addison,

Addison, which he never told me of till this day, and that accidentally; but I am glad at the same time, that I did not deserve it, having sent you a long letter, in return to that you was pleased to honour me with; and it is a pity it should be lost; for as I remember, it was full of the *diei fabulas*, and such particularities as do not usually find place in newspapers. Mr. Addison has been so taken up for some months in the amphibious circumstances of premier c—— to my lord Sunderland, and secretary of state * for Ireland, that he is the worst man I know either to convey an idle letter, or deliver what he receives; so that I design, when I trust him with this, to give him a memorial along with it; for if my former has miscarried, I am half persuaded to give him the blame. I find you a little lament your bondage, and indeed in your case it requires a good share of philosophy: but if you will not be angry, I believe I may have been the cause you are still a prisoner; for I imagine my former letter was intercepted by the French court, when the most christian king reading one passage in it (and duly considering the weight of the person who wrote it), where I said, if the French understood your value as well as we do, he would not exchange you for count Tallard, and all the Debris of Blenheim together: for I must confess, I did not rally when I said so.

I hear your good sister, the queen of Pomunki, waits with impatience till you are restored to your dominions: and that your rogue of a viceroy returns money fast for England, against the time he must

* Principal secretary to the earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland. H.

retire

retire from his government. Mean time Philips writes verses in a sledge *, upon the frozen sea, and transmits them hither to thrive in our warmer clime under the shelter of my lord Dorset. I could send you a great deal of news from the *Respublica Grubstreetaria*, which was never in greater altitude, though I have been of late but a small contributor, A cargo of splinters from the Arabian rocks have been lately shipwrecked in the Thames, to the irreparable damage of the virtuosi. Mrs. Long † and I are fallen out; I shall not trouble you with the cause, but don't you think her altogether in the wrong ‡? But Mrs. Barton is still in my good graces; I design to make her tell me when you are to be redeemed, and will send you word. There's it now, you think I am in jest; but I assure you, the best intelligence I get of public affairs is from ladies, for the ministers never tell me any thing; and Mr. Addison is nine times more secret to me than any body else, because I have the happiness to be thought his friend. The company at St. James's coffee-house is as bad as ever, but it is not quite so good. The beauties you left are all gone off this frost, and we have got a new set for spring, of which Mrs. Chetwind and Mrs. Worsley are the principal. The vogue of operas holds up wonderfully, though we have had them a year; but I design to set up a party among the wits to run them

* Ambrose Philips, esq. See his Lapland, and other pastorals, in his Poems. H.

† See an account of this lady, and of her death, in a letter dated Dec. 26, 1711. N.

‡ See in vol. xix. a "Decree for concluding the treaty between Dr. Swift and Mrs. Long." N.

down

down by next winter, if true English caprice does not interpose to save us the labour. Mademoiselle Spanheim is going to marry my lord Fitzharding, at least I have heard so; and if you find it otherwise at your return, the consequences may possibly be survived; however, you may tell it the Paris gazetteer, and let me have the pleasure to read a lie of my own sending. I suppose you have heard, that the town has lost an old duke, and recovered a mad duchess. The duke of Marlborough has at length found an enemy that dares face him, and which he will certainly fly before with the first opportunity, and we are all of opinion it will be his wisest course to do so. Now the way to be prodigiously witty, would be, by keeping you in suspense, and not letting you know that this enemy is nothing but this north-east wind, which stops his voyage to Holland. This letter going in Mr. Addison's packet will, I hope, have better luck than the former. I shall go for Ireland some time in summer, being not able to make my friends in the ministry consider my merits, or their promises, enough to keep me here; so that all my hopes now terminate in my bishoprick of Virginia: in the mean time I hold fast my claim to your promise of corresponding with me, and that you will henceforward address your letter for me at Mr. Steele's * office at the cockpit, who has promised his care in conveying them. Mr. Domvil is now at Geneva, and sends me word, he is become a convert to the whigs, by observing the good and ill effects of freedom and slavery abroad.

* Afterward sir Richard, then under-secretary of state. H.

I am

I am now with Mr. Addison, with whom I have fifty times drunk your health since you left us. He is hurrying away for Ireland, and I can at present lengthen my letter no farther; and I am not certain whether you will have any from him or not till he gets to Ireland. However, he commands me to assure you of his humble service; and I pray God too much business may not spoil *le plus honnête homme du monde:* for it is certain, which of a man's good talents he employs on business, must be detracted from his conversation. I cannot write longer in so good company, and therefore conclude

Your most faithful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

TO THE LORD PRIMATE MARSH *.

MY LORD, LONDON, MARCH 24, 1709.

I AM commanded by his excellency the lord lieutenant to send the enclosed to your grace, in answer to a letter his excellency lately received from your grace, and *several* † bishops, relating to the first-fruits of Ireland. This will spare your grace and their lordships the trouble of any farther account from me. I shall therefore only add, that his excellency commands me to assure your grace

* Indorsed by Swift, "Copy of a letter to the lord primate of Ireland by lord Wharton's order." N.

† At first written, *some other*. N.

of

of his *hearty inclination* * in favour of the church of Ireland; and am with great respect, my lord, your grace's *most dutiful, and most obedient servant* †,

JON. SWIFT.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, MARCH 26, 1709.

I SHOULD have acknowledged your's of February 10, long ago, if I had not stayed to see what became of the first-fruits. I have likewise your's of the 12th instant. I will now tell you the proceedings in this unhappy affair. Some time after the prince's death, lord Pembroke sent me word by sir Andrew Fountaine, that the queen had granted the thing, and afterward took the compliment I made him upon it. He likewise (I suppose) writ to the same purpose himself to the archbishop of Dublin. I was then for a long time pursued by a cruel illness, that seized me at fits, and hindered me from meddling in any business; neither indeed could I at all suspect there was any need to stir any more in this, until, often asking Mr. Addison whether he had any orders about it, I was a little in pain, and desired Mr. Addison to inquire at the treasury, whether such a grant had then passed? and finding an unwillingness, I inquired myself; where Mr. Taylor assured me there were never any

* In the first copy, *entire disposition to do.* N.

† Originally, *most obedient and most humble servant.* N.

orders

orders for such a grant. This was a month ago, and then I began to despair of the whole thing. Lord Pembroke was hard to be seen, neither did I think it worth talking the matter with him. What perplexed me most was, why he should tell me, and write to Ireland, that the business was done; for if the account he sent to Ireland were not as positive as what he gave me, I ought to be told so from thence. I had no opportunity of clearing this matter until the day I received your last letter; when his explanation was, that he had been promised he should carry over the grant when he returned to Ireland, and that his memorial was now in the treasury. Yet, when I had formerly begged leave to follow this matter with lord treasurer, only in the form of common soliciting, he was uneasy, and told me lord treasurer had nothing at all to do with it: but that it was a matter purely between the queen and himself, as I have told you in former letters; which, however, I knew then to be otherwise, from lord treasurer himself. So that all I had left me to do was only the cold amusement of now and then refreshing lord Pembroke's memory, or giving the ministry, as I could find opportunity, good dispositions toward the thing. Upon this notice from lord Pembroke, I immediately went to lord Wharton, which was the first attendance I ever paid him. He was then in a great crowd; I told him my business; he said, "he could not then discourse of it with me, but would the next day." I guessed the meaning of that, and saw the very person I expected, just come from him. Then I gave him an account of my errand. I think it not convenient to repeat here the particulars of his answer;

answer; but the formal part was this: "That he was not yet properly lord lieutenant, until he was sworn; that he expected the same application should be made to him, as had been done to other lord lieutenants; that he was very well disposed," &c. I took the boldness to begin answering those objections, and designed to offer some reasons; but he rose suddenly, turned off the discourse, and seemed in haste; so I was forced to take my leave. I had an intention to offer my reasons in a memorial; but was advised, by very good hands, to let it alone, as infallibly to no purpose. And, in short, I observe such a reluctance in some friends, whose credit I would employ, that I begin to think no farther of it.

I had writ thus far without receiving a former letter* from the archbishop of Dublin, wherein he tells me positively that lord Pembroke had sent him word the first-fruits were granted, and that lord Wharton would carry over the queen's letter, &c. I appeal to you, what any man could think after this? neither indeed had I the least suspicion, until Mr. Addison told me he knew nothing of it; and that I had the same account from the treasury. It is wonderful a great minister should make no difference between a grant and a promise of a grant; and it is as strange that all I could say would not prevail on him to give me leave to solicit the finishing of it at the treasury, which could not have taken the least grain of merit from him. Had I the least suspected it had been only a promise, I would have applied to lord Wharton above two months ago; and so, I

* The letter of March 12, 1708-9. See p. 85. N.

believe

believe, would the archbishop of Dublin from Ireland; which might have prevented, at least, the present excuse, of not having had the same application; although others might, I suppose, have been found.

I sent last post, by the lord lieutenant's commands, an enclosed letter, from his excellency, to the lord primate. In answer to a passage in your former letter; Mr. Stoughton is recommended for a chaplain to the lord lieutenant. His sermon is much recommended by several here. He is a prudent person, and knows how to time things. Others of somewhat better figure are as wise as he. A bold opinion is a short easy way to merit, and very necessary for those who have no other.

I am extremely afflicted with a cold, and cough attending it, which must excuse any thing ill expressed in this letter. Neither is it a subject in the present circumstances very pleasant to dwell upon.

I am, *&c.* JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. ADDISON.

DEAR SIR, DUBLIN, APRIL 22, 1709.

I AM in a very great hurry of business, but cannot forbear thanking you for your letter at Chester, which was the only entertainment I met with in that place. I hope to see you very suddenly, and will wait on our friend the bishop of Clogher * as

* Dr. St. George Ashe, 1697—1717. N.

soon

soon as I can possibly. I have had just time to tell him, *en passant*, that you were well. I long to see you, and am, dear sir, your most faithful, and most obedient servant,

J. ADDISON.

We arrived yesterday at Dublin.

FROM THE SAME.

DEAR SIR, DUBLIN CASTLE, JUNE 25, 1709.

I AM heartily glad to hear you are so near us. If you will deliver the enclosed to the captain of the Wolf, I dare say he will accommodate you with all in his power. If he has left Chester, I have sent you a bill according to the bishop of Clogher's desire, of whom I have a thousand good things to say. I do not ask your excuse about the yacht, because I don't want it, as you shall hear at Dublin: if I did, I should think myself inexcusable. I long to talk over all affairs with you, and am ever, dear sir, Yours most entirely,

J. ADDISON.

P. S. The yacht will come over with the acts of parliament, and a convoy, about a week hence, which opportunity you may lay hold of, if you do not like the Wolf. I will give orders accordingly.

FROM THE SAME.

NINE O'CLOCK,
DEAR SIR, [ABOUT JULY 1709.] MONDAY MORNING.

I THINK it very hard I should be in the same kingdom with Dr. Swift, and not have the happiness of his company once in three days. The bishop of Clogher intends to call on you this morning, as will your humble servant in my return from Chapple Izzard, whither I am just now going.

Your humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

FROM THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

SIR, OCT. 6, 1709.

OUR friend Mr. Addison telling me that he was to write to you to-night, I could not let his packet go away without telling you how much I am concerned to find them returned without you. I am quite ashamed for myself and my friends, to see you left in a place so incapable of tasting you; and to see so much merit, and so great qualities unrewarded by those, who are sensible of them. Mr. Addison and I are entered into a new confederacy, never to give over the pursuit, nor to cease reminding those, who can serve you, till your worth is placed

placed in that light it ought to shine in. Dr. South holds out still but he cannot be immortal. The situation of his prebend would make me doubly concerned in serving you, and upon all occasions, that shall offer, I will be your constant solicitor, your sincere admirer, and your unalterable friend.

I am your most humble and obedient servant,

HALIFAX.

FROM MR. STEELE.

LORD SUNDERLAND'S OFFICE,

DEAR SIR, OCT. 8, 1709.

MR. secretary Addison went this morning out of town, and left behind him an agreeable command for me, *viz.* to forward the enclosed *, which lord Halifax sent him for you. I assure you no man could say more in praise of another, than he did in your behalf at that noble lord's table on Wednesday last. I doubt not but you will find by the enclosed the effect it had upon him. No opportunity is omitted among powerful men, to upbraid them for your stay in Ireland. The company that day at dinner were lord Edward Russel, lord Essex, Mr. Maynwaring, Mr. Addison, and myself. I have heard such things said of that same bishop of Clogher with you, that I have often said he must be entered *ad eundem* in our house of lords. Mr. Philips †

* The preceeding letter of Oct. 6. N.

† Ambrose Philips. See before, p. 90. N.

dined with me yesterday: he is still a shepherd, and walks very lonely through this unthinking crowd in London. I wonder you do not write sometimes to me.

The town is in great expectation from Bickerstaff*; what passed at the election for his first table being to be published this day sevennight. I have not seen Ben Tooke† a great while, but long to usher you and yours into the world. Not that there can be any thing added by me to your fame, but to walk bareheaded before you. I am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

MY LORD, [1709, AT A CONJECTURE.]

IT is now a good while since I resolved to take some occasions of congratulating with your lordship, and condoling with the publick, upon your lordship's leaving the admiralty; and I thought I could never choose a better time, than when I am in the country with my lord bishop of Clogher‡, and his brother the doctor§; for we pretend to a *triumvirate* of as humble servants and true admirers of your

* The name assumed by the author of the Tatler. H.

† Swift's bookseller. See p. 113. N.

‡ Dr. St. George Ashe. N.

§ The Reverend Dillon Ashe. N.

lordship,

lordship, as any you have in both islands. You may call them a *triumvirate*; for, if you please to *try-um*, they will *vie* with the best, and are of the first *rate*, though they are not *men of war*, but men of the church. To say the truth, it was a pity your lordship should be confined to the *Fleet*, when you are not in debt. Though your lordship is *cast away*, you are not *sunk*; nor ever will be, since nothing is out of your lordship's *depth*. Dr. Ashe says, it is but justice that your lordship, who is a man of *letters*, should be placed upon the *post-office*; and my lord bishop adds, that he hopes to see your lordship tossed from that *post* to be a *pillar* of state again; which he desired I would put in by way of *postscript*. I am, my lord, &c.

JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. ADDISON.

SIR, ST. JAMES'S PLACE, APRIL 11, 1710.

I HAVE run so much in debt with you, that I do not know how to excuse myself, and therefore shall throw myself wholly upon your good nature; and promise, if you will pardon what is past, to be more punctual with you for the future. I hope to have the happiness of waiting on you very suddenly at Dublin, and do not at all regret the leaving of England, while I am going to a place, where I shall have the satisfaction and honour of Dr. Swift's con-

versation. I shall not trouble you with any occurrences here, because I hope to have the pleasure of talking over all affairs with you very suddenly. We hope to be at Holyhead by the 30th instant. Lady Wharton stays in England. I suppose you know, that I obeyed your's, and the bishop of Clogher's commands, in relation to Mr. Smith; for I desired Mr. Dawson to acquaint you with it. I must beg my most humble duty to the bishop of Clogher. I heartily long to eat a dish of bacon and beans in the best company in the world. Mr. Steele and I often drink your health.

I am forced to give myself airs of a punctual correspondence with you in discourse with your friends at St. James's coffee-house, who are always asking me questions about you when they have a mind to pay their court to me, if I may use so magnificent a phrase. Pray, dear doctor, continue your friendship toward me, who love and esteem you, if possible, as much as you deserve. I am ever, dear sir, Yours entirely,

J. ADDISON.

TO DEAN STERNE.

(With a Proxy for his appearance as Prebendary of Dunlavan, at the Archbishop's Visitation.)

SIR, LARACOR, APRIL 17, 1710.

YOU have put me under the necessity of writing you a very scurvy letter, and in a very scurvy manner. It is the want of horses, and not of inclination, that hinders me from attending on you at the chapter. But I would do it on foot to see you * visit in your own right; but if I must be visited by proxy, by proxy I will appear. The ladies † of St. Mary's delivered me your commands; but Mrs. Johnson had dropped half of them by the shaking of her horse. I have made a shift, by the assistance of two civilians, and a book of precedents, to send you the jargon annexed, with a blank for the name and title of any prebendary, who will have the charity to answer for me. Those words, *gravi incommodo*, are to be translated, the want of a horse. In a few days I expect to hear the two ladies lamenting the fleshpots of Cavan-street. I advise them since they have given up their title and lodgings of St. Mary, to buy each of them a palfry, and take a squire and seek adventures. I am here quarrelling with the frosty weather, for spoiling my poor half-dozen of blossoms. *Spes*

* Dr. Sterne was then vicar-general of the diocese of Dublin, and was to visit the clergy in the absence of the archbishop. H.

† Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley. N.

anni

anni collapsa ruit: Whether these words be mine or Virgil's, I cannot determine. I am this minute very busy, being to preach to day before an audience of at least fifteen people, most of them gentle, and all simple.

I can send you no news; only the employment of my parishioners may, for memory-sake, be reduced under these heads: Mr. Percivall is ditching; Mrs. Percivall in her kitchen; Mr. Wesley switching; Mrs. Wesley stitching; sir Arthur Langford *riching*, which is a new word for heaping up riches. I know no other rhyme but *bitching*, and that I hope we are all past. Well, sir, long may you live the hospitable owner of good Bits, good Books, and good Buildings. The Bishop of Clogher would envy me for these three *Bes* *. I am your most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

DR. SWIFT'S ACCOUNT OF HIS MOTHER'S DEATH, 1710.

MEM. On Wednesday, between seven and eight, in the evening, May 10, 1710, I received a letter in my chamber at Laracor, (Mr. Percivall and John Beaumont being by) from Mrs. Fenton, dated May 9th, with one enclosed, sent from Mrs. Worrall at Leicester to Mrs. Fenton †, giving an ac-

* *Viz.* Bits, books, and buildings. B.

† The Dean's sister. N.

count,

count, that my dear mother Mrs. Abigail Swift died that morning, Monday, April 24, 1710 *, about ten o'clock, after a long sickness, being ill all winter, and lame, and extremely ill a month or six weeks before her death. I have now lost my barrier between me and death; God grant I may live to be as well prepared for it, as I confidently believe her to have been! If the way to Heaven be through piety, truth, justice, and charity, she is there †.

* "1710, April 27, Abigail Swift, widow, aged 70 years, buried" Register of St. Martin's, Leicester. N.

† This memorandum is copied from one of the account books, which Dr. Swift always made up yearly, and on each page entered minutely all his receipts and expenses in every month, beginning his year from Nov. 1. He observed the same method all his life-time till his last illness. At the foot of that page which includes his expenses in the month of May 1710, at his glebe house in Laracor, in the county of Meath, where he was then resident, are the above remarkable words; which show at the same time his filial piety, and the religious use which he thought it his duty to make of that melancholy event. He always treated his mother, during her life, with the utmost duty and affection; and she sometimes came to Ireland, to visit him after his settlement at Laracor. She lodged at Mr. Brent's the printer, in George's-lane, Dublin; and once asked her landlady, "Whether she could keep a secret?" who replied, "she could very well." Upon which she enjoined her, not to make the matter publick, which she was now going to communicate to her. "I have a spark in this town, that I carried on a correspondence with while I was in England. He will be here presently, to pay his addresses; for he has heard by this time of my arrival. But I would not have the matter known." Soon after this, a rap was heard at the door; and Mr. Swift walked up stairs. Mrs. Brent retired; but, after a little time, she was called; and then Mrs. Swift introduced her visitor, and said, "This is my spark I was telling you of: this is my lover: and indeed the only one I shall ever admit to pay their addresses to me." The doctor smiled at his mother's humour, and afterward paid his duty

FROM MR. ADDISON.

DEAR SIR, DUBLIN, JUNE 3, 1710.

I AM just now come from Finglass, where I have been drinking your health, and talking of you, with one who loves and admires you better than any man in the world, except your humble servant. We both agree in a request, that you will set out for Dublin as soon as possible. To tell you truly, I find the place disagreeable, and cannot imagine why it should appear so now more than it did last year. You know I look upon every thing that is like a compliment as a breach of friendship; and therefore shall only tell you that I long to see you; without assuring you that I love your company and value your conversation more than any man's, or that I am, with the most inviolable sincerity and esteem, dear sir,

Your most faithful, most humble,
and most obedient servant,
J. ADDISON.

FROM SIR ANDREW FOUNTAINE.

JUNE 27, 1710.

I NEITHER can nor will have patience any longer; and, Swift, you are a confounded son of

duty to her every day unsuspected by Mrs. Brent, whom he invited some years afterward to take care of his family affairs, when he became dean of St. Patrick's. And when she died, he continued her daughter (Mrs. Ridgway, then a poor widow) in the same office. N.

a ——

a ——. May your half acre turn to a bog, and may your willows perish; may the worms eat your Plato, and may Parvisol * break your snuff-box. What! because there is never a bishop in England with half the wit of St. George Ashe, nor ever a secretary of state with a quarter of Addison's good sense; therefore you cannot write to those that love you, as well as any Clogher or Addison of them all. You have lost your reputation here, and that of your bastard the Tatler is going too; and there is no way left to recover either, but your writing. Well! 'tis no matter; I'll e'en leave London. Kingsmill is dead, and you don't write to me. Adieu.

FROM MR. HENLEY.

Εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ Εὐπραττειν.

REVEREND SIR, [ABOUT 1709 OR 1710.]

IT is reported of the famous Regiomontanus, that he framed an eagle so artfully of a certain wood, that upon the approach of the emperor Maximilian to the opulent city of Nuremberg, it took wing, and flew out of the gates to meet him, and (as my author has it) appeared as though alive. Give me leave to attribute this excellent invention to the vehement desire he had to entertain his master with something extraordinary, and to say with the poet,

Amor addidit alas.

* The Dean's steward. N.

I am

I am trying a like experiment, whether I cannot make this composition of old rags, gall, and vitriol, fly to Dublin; and if (as the moving lion, which was composed by an Italian chemist, and opened his breast, and showed the imperial arms painted on its heart) this could disclose itself, and discover to you the high esteem and affection I have for you, I should attain my end, and not only sacrifice a hecatomb, but cry out, with extatick Archimedes, Εὕρηκα.

I should not have presumed to imagine, that you would deign to cast an eye on any thing proceeding from so mean a hand as mine, had I not been encouraged by that character of candour and sweetness of temper for which you are so justly celebrated and esteemed by all good men, as the *deliciæ humani generis*; and I make no question, but like your predecessor [an emperor again *] you reckon every day as lost, in which you have not an opportunity of doing some act of beneficence. I was moreover emboldened by the adage, which does not stick to affirm, that one of the most despicable of animals may look upon the greatest of queens, as it has been proved to a demonstration by a late most judicious author, whom (as I take it) you have vouchsafed to immortalize by your learned lucubrations †. And as proverbs are the wisdom of a nation, so I take the naturalizing such a quantity of very expressive ones, as we did by the act of union, to be one of the considerablest advantages we shall reap from it; and I do not question but the nation will be the wiser for the future.

* Those words are crossed over in the original. N.

† Steele adopted in his Tatler the name of Isaac Bickerstaff. N.

But

But I have digressed too far, and therefore resume my thread. I know my own unworthiness to deserve your favour, but let this attempt pass on any account for some merit.

In magnis voluisse sat est.

And though all cannot be sprightly like F—d, wise like T——rs, agreeable like B——th, polite like P——r——de, or, to sum up all, though there be but one phœnix, and one *lepidissimus homuncio*, T—p—m; yet since a cup of cold water was not an unacceptable present to a thirsty emperor, I may flatter myself, that this tender of my services (how mean soever) may not be contemned; and, though I fall from my great attempt,

Spero trovar pieta non che perdono;

as that mellifluous ornament of Italy, Franciscus Petrarch, sweetly has it.

Mr. Crowder I have often heard affirm, and the fine thinkers of all ages have constantly held, that much good may be attained by reading of history. And Dr. Sloane is of opinion, that modern travels are very behoveful toward forming the mind, and enlarging the thoughts of the curious part of mankind.

Give me leave to speak a little from both these topicks.

In the Roman triumphs, which were doubtless the most august spectacles that were ever seen, it was the constant custom, that the public executioner should be behind the conqueror, to remind him (says my author) from time to time, that these honours were transitory, and could not secure him from the severity of the laws.

Col.

Col. Morrison of the guards [he lives next door to Tart-Hall] his father was in Virginia, and being like to be starved, the company had recourse to a learned master of arts; his name was Venter; he advised them to eat one another *pour passer le tems*, and to begin with a fat cook-maid. She had certainly gone to pot, had not a ship arrived just in the nick with a quantity of pork, which appeased their hunger, and saved the wench's bacon.

To apply these: Did you never (when rioting in the costly dainties of my lord high admiral's * table, when the polytasted wine excited jovial thoughts, and banished serious reflections) forget your frail mortal condition? Or when, at another time, you have wiped the point of a knife, or perhaps with a little spoon taken some Attick salt out of Mrs. F—'s cadenat; and, as the poet sings,

Qui sedens adversus identidem——
Spectat et audit.

Did you not think yourself *par Deo?* Pray God you did not; pray God you did not think yourself *superare divos.*

Confess the truth, doctor, you did; confess it, and repent of it, if it be not too late: but alas! I fear it is.

And now, methinks, I look down into that bog all flaming with bonnyclabber and usquebaugh; and hear you gnashing your teeth and crying, "Oh! what would I give now for a glass of that small beer, I used to say was sour! or a pinch of that snuff, which I used to say was the cursed'st stuff in the

* Thomas earl of Pembroke. H.

world;

world; and borrow as much as would lie on a shilling the minute after. Oh! what would I give to have had a monitor in those moments to have put me in mind of the sword hanging by a twine-thread over my head, and to have cried in a voice as loud as Southwell's, *Memento*, doctor, *quia Hibernus es, et in Hiberniam reverteris!*"

Every man in the midst of his pleasures should remember the Roman executioner: and I have been assured, that had it not been for the unfortunate loss of his royal highness the prince *, sir Charles Duncombe † would have revived that useful ceremony, which might be very properly introduced in the lord mayor's cavalcade.

I would not be mistaken either in what has gone before, or in that which is to follow, as if I took you to be a bellygod, an Apicius, or him that wished his neck as long as a crane's, that he might have the greater pleasure in swallowing. No, dear doctor, far be it from me to think you *Epicuri de grege porcum*. I know indeed you are *helluo*, but 'tis *librorum*, as the learned Dr. Accepted Frewen, some time archbishop of York, was; and *ingenii*, as the quaint Dr. Offspring Blackall, now bishop of Exeter, is. Therefore let us return to the use which may be made of modern travels, and apply Mr. Morrison's to your condition.

You are now cast on an inhospitable island; no mathematical figures on the sand, no *vestigia hominum* to be seen; perhaps at this very time reduced to one single barrel of damaged biscuit, and short

* Of Denmark, who died Oct. 28, 1708. H.

† Lord Mayor of London in 1708. N.

allowance

allowance even of salt water. What's to be done? Another in your condition would look about; perhaps he might find some potatoes; or get an old piece of iron, and make a harpoon, and if he found Higgon sleeping near the shore, strike him and eat him. The western islanders of Scotland say, 'tis good meat, and his train oil, bottled till it mantles, is a delicious beverage, if the inhabitants of Lapland are to be credited.

But this I know is too gross a pabulum for one, who (as the chameleon lives on air) has always hitherto lived on wit; and whose friends (God be thanked) design he should continue to do so, and on nothing else. Therefore I would advise you to fall upon old Joan; eat, do I live to bid thee; eat Addison *: and when you have eat every body else, eat my lord lieutenant † [he is something lean] God help the while; and though it will, for aught I know, be treason, there will be nobody left to hang you, unless you should think fit to do yourself that favour; which if you should, pray don't write me word of it, because I should be very sorry to hear of any ill that should happen to you, as being with a profound veneration,

One of the greatest of your admirers, T. B.
or any other two letters you like better.

Pray direct your answer to me, at the Serjeant's Head in Cornwall; or at Mr. Sentiment's, a *potty carrier*, in Common Garden, in the *Phhs*.

* Then secretary to the earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland. H.

† Earl of Wharton. H.

TO MR. BENJAMIN TOOKE *.

SIR, DUBLIN, JUNE 29, 1710.

I WAS in the country when I received your letter with the Apology enclosed in it †; and I had neither health nor humour to finish that business. But the blame rests with you, that if you thought it time, you did not print it when you had it. I have just now your last, with the complete Key. I believe it is so perfect a Grubstreet piece, it will be forgotten in a week. But it is strange that there can be no satisfaction against a bookseller for publishing names in so bold a manner. I wish some lawyer could advise you how I might have satisfaction; for at this rate, there is no book, however vile, which may not be fastened on me. I cannot but think that little parson-cousin ‡ of mine is at the bottom of this: for, having lent him a copy of some part of, &c. and he showing it, after I was gone for Ireland, and the thing abroad, he affected to talk suspiciously, as if he had some share in it. If he should happen to be in town, and you light on him, I think you ought to tell him gravely, "That, if he be the author, he should set his name to the," &c. and rally him a little upon it: and tell him, "if he can explain some things, you will, if

* An eminent bookseller at the Middle Temple-gate, Fleet-street. He died May 21, 1723, leaving a considerable estate to his younger brother Andrew Tooke, afterwards master of the Charter-house. N

† The Apology prefixed to the Tale of a Tub. N.

‡ Mr. Thomas Swift; see Journal to Stella, Nov. 7, 1711; and see the Advertisement to the Tale of a Tub, in vol. II. N.

he pleases, set his name to the next edition." I should be glad to see how far the foolish impudence of a dunce could go. Well; I will send you the thing, now I am in town, as soon as possible. But I dare say, you have neither printed the rest, nor finished the cuts; only are glad to lay the fault on me. I shall, at the end, take a little contemptible notice of the thing you sent me; and I dare say it will do you more good than hurt. If you are in such haste, how came you to forget the Miscellanies? I would not have you think of Steele for a publisher: he is too busy. I will, one of these days, send you some hints, which I would have in a preface, and you may get some friend to dress them up. I have thoughts of some other work one of these years: and I hope to see you ere it be long; since it is likely to be a new world, and since I have the merit of suffering by not complying with the old.

Yours, &c. JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. TOOKE.

SIR, LONDON, JULY 10, 1710.

ENCLOSED I have sent the Key, and think it would be much more proper to add the notes at the bottom of the respective pages they refer to, than printing them at the end by themselves. As to the cuts, sir Andrew Fountaine has had them from the time they were designed, with an intent of altering them. But he is now gone into Norfolk, and will not

not return till Michaelmas; so that, I think, they must be laid aside; for, unless they are very well done, it is better they were quite let alone. As to the Apology, I was not so careless but that I took a copy of it before I sent it to you; so that I could have printed it easily, but that you sent me word not to go on till you had altered something in it. As to that cousin of yours which you speak of, I neither know him, nor ever heard of him till the Key mentioned him. It was very indifferent to me which I proceeded on first, the Tale or the Miscellanies: but, when you went away, you told me there were three or four things should be sent over out of Ireland, which you had not here; which, I think, is a very reasonable excuse for myself in all these affairs. What I beg of you at present is, that you would return the Apology and this Key, with directions as to the placing it: although I am entirely of opinion to put it at the bottom of each page; yet shall submit. If this be not done soon, I cannot promise but some rascal or other will do it for us both; since you see the liberty that is already taken. I think too much time has already been lost in the Miscellanies; therefore hasten that; and whichever is in the most forwardness, I would begin on first. All here depend on an entire alteration. I am, *&c.*

FROM MR. ADDISON.

DEAR SIR, DUBLIN CASTLE, JULY 23, 1710.

ABOUT two days ago I received the enclosed, that is sealed up, and yesterday that of my friend Steele, which requiring a speedy answer, I have sent you express. In the mean time I have let him know that you are out of town, and that he may expect your answer by the next post. I fancy he had my lord Halifax's authority for writing. I hope this will bring you to town. For your amusement by the way, I have sent you some of this day's news: to which I must add, that Drs. Bysse * and Robinson † are likely to be the bishops of Bristol and St. David's: that our politicians are startled at the breaking off the negotiations, and fall of stocks; insomuch that it is thought they will not venture at dissolving the parliament in such a crisis. I am ever, dear sir, your's entirely,

J. ADDISON.

Mr. Steele desires me to seal your's before I deliver it, but this you will excuse in one, who wishes you as well as he, or any body living can do.

* Philip, first made bishop of St. David's, and then of Hereford. B.

† John; he was consecrated bishop of Bristol, November 19, 1710, and translated to the see of London in March 1713-14. B.

FROM THE IRISH BISHOPS TO THE BISHOPS OF OSSORY AND KILLALOE.

DUBLIN, AUG. 31, 1710.

OUR VERY GOOD LORDS,

WHEREAS several applications have been made to her majesty about the first-fruits and twentieth parts, payable to her majesty by the clergy of this kingdom, beseeching her majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to extend her bounty to the clergy here, in such a manner as the convocation have humbly laid before her majesty, or as her majesty shall in her goodness and wisdom think fit; and the said applications lie still before her majesty; and we do hope, from her royal bounty, a favourable answer.

We do therefore entreat your lordships to take on you the solicitation of that affair, and to use such proper methods and applications, as you in your prudence shall judge most likely to be effectual. We have likewise desired the bearer, Dr. Swift, to concern himself with you, being persuaded of his diligence and good affection; and we desire, that if your lordships' occasions require your leaving London before you have brought the business to effect, that you would leave with him the papers relating to it, with your directions for his management in it, if you think it adviseable so to do. We are your lordships' most humble servants and brethren,

NARCISSUS ARMAGH.
WILL. DUBLINIENSIS.
W. CASSEL. W. MEATH.
W. KILDARE. WM. KILLALA.

To the right rev. fathers in God, John, lord bishop of Ossory, and Thomas, lord bishop of Killaloe.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, SEPT. 9, 1710.

I ARRIVED here on Thursday last, and inquiring for the two bishops, I found my lord of Ossory * was gone some time ago, and the bishop of Killaloe † I could not hear of till next day, when I found he was set out early in the morning for Ireland; so that the letter to their lordships is so far to no purpose. I cannot yet learn whether they left any papers behind them; neither shall I much inquire; and to say the truth, I was less solicitous to ask after the bishop of Killaloe, when I heard the other was gone.

They tell me all affairs in the treasury are governed by Mr. Harley, and that he is the person usually applied to; only of late, my lord Poulet, upon what people have talked to him that way, hath exerted himself a little, and endeavours to be as significant as he can. I have opportunities enough of getting some interest with his lordship, who hath formerly done me good offices, although I have no personal acquaintance with him. After which I will apply to Mr. Harley, who formerly made some advances towards me; and, unless he be altered, will, I believe, think himself in the right to use me well: but I am inclined to suspend any particular solicitations until I hear from your grace, and

* Dr. John Hartstonge was bishop of Ossory from 1693 to 1714. N.

† Dr. Thomas Lindsay, bishop of Killaloe from March 1695, was translated to Raphoe June 6, 1713, to Armagh January 4 following; and died July 13, 1724. N.

am

am informed what progress the two bishops have made; and until I receive their papers, with what other directions your grace will desire to send me.

Upon my arrival here, I found myself equally caressed by both parties, by one as a sort of bough for drowning men to lay hold of; and by the other as one discontented with the late men in power, for not being thorough in their designs, and therefore ready to approve present things. I was to visit my lord Godolphin, who gave me a reception very unexpected, and altogether different from what I ever received from any great man in my life; altogether short, dry, and morose, not worth repeating to your grace, until I have the honour to see you. I complained of it to some of his friends, as having, as I thought, for some reasons, deserved much the contrary from his lordship: they said, to excuse him, that he was overrun with spleen and peevishness upon the present posture of affairs, and used nobody better. It may be new to your grace to tell you some circumstances of his removal. A letter was sent him by the groom of the queen's stables, to desire he would break his staff, which would be the easiest way, both to her majesty and him. Mr. Smith, chancellor of the exchequer, happening to come in a little after, my lord broke his staff, and flung the pieces in the chimney, desiring Mr. Smith to be witness that he had obeyed the queen's commands; and sent him to the queen with a letter and message, which Mr. Smith delivered, and at the same time surrendered up his own office. The parliament is certainly to be dissolved although the day is yet uncertain. The remainder of whigs in employment are resolved not to resign; and

and a certain lord told me, he had been the giver of that advice, and did in my presence prevail on an acquaintance of mine in a great post to promise the same thing. Only Mr. Boyle*, they say, is resolved to give up. Every body counts infallibly upon a general removal. The duke of Queensberry, is is said, will be steward; my lord Cholmondeley is gone over to the new interest, with great indignation of his friends. It is affirmed by the tories, that the great motive of these changes was the absolute necessity of a peace, which they thought the whigs were for perpetually delaying. Elections are now managing with greater violence and expense, and more competitors, than ever was known; yet the town is much fuller of people than usual at this time of the year, waiting till they see some issue of the matter. The duke of Ormond is much talked of for Ireland, and I imagine he believed something of it himself. Mr. Harley is looked upon as first minister, and not my lord Shrewsbury, and his grace helps on the opinion, whether out of policy or truth; upon all occasions professing to stay until he speaks with Mr. Harley. The queen continues at Kensington indisposed with the gout, of which she has frequent returns.

* Youngest son of Charles lord Clifford. He was appointed chancellor of the exchequer to king William in March 1701; and was much esteemed by that prince. He continued in that post till Feb. 12, 1707-8, when he was made one of the principal secretaries of state, in which station he remained till Sept. 20, 1710. On the accession of George I. Mr. Boyle was created lord Carleton, and soon after made president of the council. He died unmarried, March 14, 1724-5. To the intervention of Mr. Boyle, and the friendship of lord Halifax, Mr. Addison was indebted for his first introduction to lord Godolphin. N.

I deferred

I deferred writing to your grace as late as I could this post, until I might have something to entertain you: but there is such a universal uncertainty among those who pretend to know most, that little can be depended on. However, it may be some amusement to tell you the sentiments of people here, and, as bad as they are, I am sure they are the best that are stirring; for it is thought there are not three people in England entirely in the secret; nor is it sure, whether even those three are agreed in what they intend to do.

I am, with great respect, my lord,
Your grace's most obedient
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I have not time to read this, and correct the literal mistakes.

I was to wait on the duke of Ormond to set him right in the story of the college, about the statue, *&c.*

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, SEPT. 16, 1710.

I RECEIVED your's by the last packets, of September the ninth; and because you have missed the two bishops, I send you, with this, the papers relating to the first-fruits, and twentieth parts. I send them in two bundles, being too big for one letter. The bishops, so far as I can learn from the bishop of Ossory, have not made any step since I left

left London. I will endeavour to get you a letter from the bishops to solicit that affair. In the mean time, open the letter to the two bishops, and make use of it as occasion shall serve. The scheme I had laid for them is crossed by my lord treasurer's being out; though, perhaps, that would not have done; but her majesty's promise I depended on, and I had engaged the archbishop of York in it. When he comes to London, I will give you a letter to him. I can likewise find means, I believe, to possess my lord Shrewsbury and Mr. Harley, with the reasonableness of the affair. I am not courtier enough to know the properness of the thing; but I had once an imagination to attempt her majesty herself by a letter, modestly putting her in mind of the matter; and no time so proper, as when there is no lord lieutenant of Ireland, which perhaps may be soon; but this needs advice.

There are great men here as much out of humour, as you describe your great *visitee* * to have been; nor does the good news from Spain † clear them. I believe, however, they are glad at it, though another would have served their occasions as well.

I do not apprehend any other secret in all this affair, but to get whigs out of all places of profit and trust, and to get others in them. As for peace

* Probably the earl of Godolphin, who was, perhaps, much visited by his friends and party, after the resignation of his staff of lord treasurer. B.—This conjecture of Dr. Birch was very ingenious. The archbishop's allusion, however, related only to the private visit of Dr. Swift to his lordship, which he mentions in his letter of September 9, p. 119. N.

† Probably of the battle near Saragoza, in which king Charles of Spain gained a complete victory over his competitor, king Philip, on the 10th of August, 1710. B.

it

it must be on no other terms than the preliminaries; and you'll find a tory parliament will give money as freely, and be as eager to prosecute the war, as the whigs were, or they are not the wise men I take them to be. If they do so, and take care to have the money well disposed of when given, they will break the king of France's heart, and the whigs together, and please the nation. There's an ugly accident, that happens here in relation to our twentieth parts and first-fruits: at Midsummer, 1709, there was ready-money in the treasury, and good solvent debts to the queen to the value of 70,000*l.* Now I am told, by the last week's abstract, there is only 223*l.* in the treasury, and the army unpaid, at least uncleared for a year; and all others, except pensioners, in the same condition. Now the great motive to prevail with her majesty to give the clergy the bounty petitioned for, was the clearness of the revenue here; but if that be anticipated, perhaps it may make an objection. I will add no more, but my prayers for you.

I am, &c. WILL. DUBLIN.

TO DEAN STERNE.

SIR, LONDON, SEPT. 26, 1710.

ONE would think this an admirable place from whence to fill a letter, yet when I come to examine particulars, I find they either consist of news, which you hear as soon by the publick papers, or of persons

persons and things, to which you are a stranger, and are the wiser and happier for being so. Here have been great men every day resigning their places; a resignation as sincere, as that of a usurer on his death-bed. Here are some, that fear being whipped because they have broken their rod; and some that may be called to an account, because they could not cast one up. There are now not much above a dozen great employments to be disposed of, which, according to our computation, may be done in as many days. Patrick * assures me his acquaintance are all very well satisfied with these changes, which I take for no ill symptom, and it is certain the queen has never appeared so easy or so cheerful. I found my Lord Godolphin the worst dissembler of any of them, that I have talked to: and no wonder, since his loss and danger are greater, beside the addition of age and complection. My lord lieutenant † is gone to the country, to bustle about elections. He is not yet removed; because they say it will be requisite to supercede him by a successor, which the queen has not fixed on; nor is it agreed whether the duke of Shrewsbury or Ormond ‡ stand fairest. I speak only for this morning, because reports usually change every twenty-four hours. Mean time the pamphlets and half sheets grow so upon our hands, it will very well employ a man every day from morning till night to read them, and so out of perfect despair I never read any at all. The whigs, like an army beat three

* Dr. Swift's servant. H.

† Earl of Wharton. B.

‡ The duke of Ormond was appointed lord lieutenant, Oct. 19, 1710. B.

quarters

quarters out of the field, begin to skirmish but faintly; and deserters daily come over. We are amazed to find our mistakes, and how it was possible to see so much merit where there was none, and to overlook it where there was so much. When a great minister has lost his place, immediately virtue, honour, and wit fly over to his successor, with the other ensigns of his office. Since I left off writing, I received a letter from my lord archbishop of Dublin, or rather two letters upon these memorials. I think immediately to begin my soliciting, though they are not very perfect; for I would be glad to know, whether my lord archbishop would have the same method taken here, that has been done in England, to settle it by parliament: but, however that will be time enough thought of this good while.

I must here tell you, that the dean of St. Patrick's lives better than any man of quality I know; yet this day I dined with the comptroller *, who tells me, he drinks the queen's wine to-day. I saw collector Sterne †, who desired me to present his service to you, and to tell you he would be glad to hear from you, but not about business; by which, I told him, I guessed he was putting you off about something you desired.

I would much rather be now in Ireland drinking your good wine, and looking over, while you lost a crown at penny ombre. I am weary of the caresses of great men out of place. The comptroller expects every day the queen's commands to break his staff.

* Sir John Holland, bart. H.

† Enoch Sterne, esq. collector of Wicklow, and clerk of the house of lords in Ireland. F.

He

He is the last great household officer they intend to turn out. My lord lieutenant is yet in, because they cannot agree about his successor.

I am your most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

A MEMORIAL OF DR. SWIFT'S TO MR. HARLEY, ABOUT THE FIRST-FRUITS*.

OCTOBER 7, 1710.

IN Ireland, hardly one parish in ten has any glebe, and the rest very small and scattered, except a very few; and these have seldom any houses.

There are in proportion more impropriations in Ireland than in England, which, added to the poverty of the country, make the livings of very small and uncertain value, so that five or six are often joined to make a revenue of 50*l. per annum:* but these have seldom above one church in repair, the rest being destroyed by frequent wars, *&c.*

The clergy, for want of glebes, are forced, in their own or neighbouring parish, to take farms to live at rack rents.

The queen having some years since remitted the first-fruits to the clergy of England, the bishop of Cloyne, being then in London, did petition her majesty for the same favour in behalf of the clergy of Ireland, and received a gracious answer. But

* This was drawn up by Dr. Swift; the memorial he received from the bishops having been too long, and not to the purpose. See his letter of Oct. 10, p. 129. N.

this affair, for want of soliciting, was not brought to an issue during the governments of the duke of Ormond, and earl of Pembroke.

Upon the earl of Wharton's succeeding, Dr. Swift (who had solicited this matter in the preceding government), was *desired* * by the bishops of Ireland to apply to his excellency, who thought fit to receive the motion as wholly new, and what he could not consider till he were fixed in the government, and till the same application were made to him as had been to his predecessors. Accordingly, an address was delivered to his lordship, with a petition to the queen, and a memorial annexed from both houses of convocation; but a dispute happening in the lower house, wherein his chaplain was concerned, and which was represented by the said chaplain as an affront designed to his excellency, who was pleased to understand and report it so to the court, the convocation was suddenly prorogued, and all farther thoughts about the first-fruits let fall as desperate.

The subject of the petition was to desire, that the twentieth parts might be remitted to the clergy, and the first-fruits made a fund for purchasing glebes and impropriations, and rebuilding churches.

The twentieth parts are twelve pence in the pound paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the reformation. They amount to about 500*l. per annum*; but of little or no value to the queen, after the officers and other charges are paid, though of much trouble and vexation to the clergy.

* Originally written, *directed*. N.

The

The first-fruits paid by incumbents upon their promotion amount to 450*l.* *per annum*; so that her majesty, in remitting about 1000*l.* *per annum* to the clergy, will really lose not above 500*l.*

Upon August 31, 1710, the two houses of convocation being met to be farther prorogued, the archbishops and bishops conceiving there was now a favourable juncture to resume their applications, did, in their private capacities, sign a power to the said Dr. Swift, to solicit the remitting of the first-fruits and twentieth parts.

But there is a greater burden than this, and almost intolerable, upon several of the clergy in Ireland; the easing of which, the clergy only looked on as a thing to be wished, without making it part of their petition.

The queen is impropriator of several parishes, and the incumbent pays her half-yearly a rent generally to the third part of the real value of the living, and sometimes half. Some of these parishes [yielding no income to the vicar, *] by the increase of graziers, are seized on by the crown, and cannot pay the reserved rent. The value of all these impropriations are about 2000*l.* *per annum* to her majesty.

If the queen would graciously please to bestow likewise these impropriations, to the church, part to be remitted to the incumbent, where the rent is large and the living small, and the rest to be laid out in levying glebes and impropriations, and building churches, it would be a most pious and seasonable bounty.

* The words in hooks are crossed over in the MS. N.

The

The utmost value of the twentieth parts, first-fruits, and crown rents, is 3000*l.* *per annum*, of which about 500*l.* *per annum* is sunk among officers; so that her majesty, by this great benefaction, would lose but 2500*l.* *per annum*.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, OCT. 10, 1710.

I HAD the honour of your grace's letter of September 16, but I was in no pain to acknowledge it, nor shall be at any other time, until I have something that I think worth troubling you, because I am very sensible how much an insignificant letter is worse than none at all. I had likewise the memorial, &c. in another packet: and I beg your grace to enclose whatever packets you send me (I mean of bulk) under a paper directed to Mr. Steele, at his office in the cock-pit, and not for me at Mr. Steele's. I should have been glad the bishops had been here, although I take bishops to be the worst solicitors in the world, except in their own concerns. They cannot give themselves the little troubles of attendance that other men are content to swallow; else, I am sure, their two lordships might have succeeded easier than men of my level can reasonably hope to do,

As soon as I received the packets, I went to wait upon Mr. Harley. I had prepared him before by another hand, where he was very intimate, and got

myself represented (which I might justly do) as one extremely ill used by the last ministry, after some obligations, because I refused to go certain lengths they would have me. This happened to be in some sort Mr. Harley's own case. He had heard very often of me, and received me with the greatest marks of kindness and esteem, as I was whispered that he would; and the more, upon the ill usage I had met with. I sat with him two hours among company, and two hours we were alone; where I gave him a history of the whole business, and the steps that had been made in it; which he heard as I could wish, and promised with great readiness his best credit to effect it. I mentioned the difficulties we had met with from lords lieutenants and their secretaries, who would not suffer others to solicit, and neglected it themselves. He fell in with me entirely; and said, neither they nor himself should have the merit of it, but the queen, to whom he would show my memorial with the first opportunity; in order, if possible, to have it done in this interregnum. I said, "it was a great encouragement to the bishops that he was in the treasury, whom they knew to have been the chief adviser of the queen to grant the same favour in England: that the honour and merit of this would certainly be his, next the queen's; but that it was nothing to him, who had done so much greater things *; and that for my part, I thought he was obliged to the clergy of Ireland, for giving him an occasion of

* Dr. Campbell, in his Philosophy of Rhetoric, produces this passage as a fine example of an indirect, but successful manner of praising, by seeming to invert the course of the obligation, and to represent the person obliging as the person obliged. N.

gratifying

gratifying the pleasure he took in doing good to the church." He received my compliment extremely well, and renewed his promises.

Your grace will please to know that, beside the first-fruits, I told him of the crown-rents, and showed the nature and value of them; but said, my opinion was, that the convocation had not mentioned them in their petition to the queen, delivered to lord Wharton with the address, because they thought the times would not then bear it; but that I looked upon myself to have a discretionary power to solicit it in so favourable a juncture. I had two memorials ready of my own drawing up, as short as possible, showing the nature of the thing, and how long it had been depending, &c. One of these memorials had a paragraph at the end relating to the crown-rents; the other had none. In case he had waved the motion of the crown-rents, I would have given him the last, but I gave him the other, which he immediately read, and promised to second *both* with his best offices to the queen. As I have placed that paragraph in my memorial, it can do no harm, and may possibly do good. However, I beg your grace to say nothing of it, but if it dies, let it die in silence; we must take up with what can be got.

I forgot to tell your grace, that when I said I was empowered, &c. he desired to see my powers: and then I heartily wished they had been a little more ample; and I have since wondered what scruple a number of bishops could have of empowering a clergyman to do the church and them a service, without any prospect or imagination of interest for himself, farther than about ten shillings a year.

Mr. Harley has invited me to dine with him to-day; but I shall not put him upon this discourse so soon. If he begins it himself, I will add at bottom whatever there is of moment.

He said, Mr. secretary St. John desires to be acquainted with me, and that he will bring us together, which may be of farther help; although I told him I had no thoughts of applying to any but himself; wherein he differed from me, desiring I would speak to others, if it were but for form; and seemed to mean, as if he would avoid the envy of doing things alone. But an old courtier (an intimate friend of mine) with whom I consulted, advised me still to let him know, I relied wholly upon his good inclinations and credit with the queen.

I find I am forced to say all this very confusedly, just as it lies in my memory; but, perhaps, it may give your grace a truer notion of what passed, than if I had writ in more order. Besides, I am forced to omit the greatest part of what I said, being not proper for a letter at such a distance; for I told very freely the late causes which had stopped this matter, and removed many odious misrepresentations, &c.

I beg whatever letters are sent to bishops or others in this matter, by your grace or the primate, may be enclosed to me, that I may stifle or deliver them, as the course of the affair shall require. As for a letter from your grace to the queen, you say it needs advice; and I am sure it is not from me, who shall not presume to offer; but perhaps from what I have writ you may form some judgment or other.

As for publick affairs, I confess I began this letter on a half sheet, merely to limit myself on a subject with

with which I did not know whether your grace would be entertained. I am not yet convinced that any access to men in power gives a man more truth or light than the politicks of a coffee-house. I have known some great ministers, who would seem to discover the very inside of their hearts, when I was sure they did not value whether I had proclaimed all they had said at Charing-cross. But I never knew one great minister, who made any scruple to mould the alphabet into whatever words he pleased; or to be more difficult about any facts, than his porter is about that of his lord's being at home; so that whoever has so little to do, as to desire some knowledge in secrets of state, must compare what he hears from several great men, as from one great man at several times, which is equally different. People were surprised, when the court stopped its hands as to farther removals: the comptroller, a lord of the admiralty, and some others, told me, they expected every day to be dismissed; but they were all deceived, and the higher tories are very angry: but some time ago, at Hampton-court, I picked out the reason from a dozen persons; and told sir John Holland, I would lay a wager he would not lose his staff so soon as he imagined. The ministry are afraid of too great a majority of their own side in the house of commons, and therefore stopped short in their changes; yet some refiners think they have gone too far already, for of thirty new members in the present elections, about twenty-six are tories. The duke of Ormond seems still to stand the fairest for Ireland; although I hear some faint hopes they will not nominate very soon. The ruin of the late party was owing to a great

great number, and a complication of causes, which I have had from persons able enough to inform me; and that is all we can mean by a good hand, for the veracity is not to be relied on. The duchess of Marlborough's removal has been seven years working; that of the treasurer above three, and he was to be dismissed before lord Sunderland. Beside the many personal causes, that of breaking measures settled for a peace four years ago, had a great weight, when the French had complied with all terms, *&c.* In short, they apprehended the whole party to be entirely against a peace, for some time, until they were rivetted fast, too fast to be broke, as they otherwise expected, if the war should conclude too soon. I cannot tell (for it is just come into my head) whether some unanimous addresses, from those who love the church in Ireland, or from Dublin, or your grace and the clergy, might not be seasonable; or, whether my lord Wharton's being not yet suspended may yet hinder it.

I forgot to tell your grace, that the memorial I gave Mr. Harley was drawn up by myself, and was an abstract of what I had said to him: it was as short as I could make it; that which you sent being too long, and of another nature.

I dined to-day with Mr. Harley; but I must humbly beg your grace's pardon if I say no more at present, for reasons I may shortly let you know. In the mean time, I desire your grace to believe me, with the greatest respect, my lord,

Your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, OCT. 24, 1710.

I THANK you for yours of the 10th instant, and send you enclosed a farther power by my lord primate and me. My lord is not able to come to town, which obliged me to wait on him at Johnston, and hindered the joining of two or three bishops in it who are yet in town: but I suppose our signing is sufficient. I went in the morning to wait on his grace, and intended, when he had signed it, to have applied to other bishops; but he was abroad taking the air, and I could not get it until it was late, and thought it better to sign and send it as it is, than wait for another post. You may expect by the next a letter to his grace of Canterbury, and another to the archbishop of York. I apprised them both of the business. The latter, if I remember right, spoke to her majesty about it; I am not sure, that her majesty remembers what I said on that subject; but am sure she was pleased to seem satisfied with it, and to scruple only the time: I suppose, not thinking it fit to confer the favour she designed the clergy of Ireland by the hands it must then have passed through, but said, that in the interval of a change, or absence of a chief governor, it should be done. I hope now is the proper time, and that her majesty will rather follow the dictates of her own bountiful inclinations, than the intrigues of cunning covetous counsellors.

I thought to have troubled you with a great many things;

things; but such a crowd of visitors have broken in upon me before I could lock my gates, that I am forced to break off abruptly, recommending you to God's care. I am, &c.

WILLIAM DUBLIN.

FROM LORD PRIMATE MARSH AND ARCHBISHOP KING.

SIR, DUBLIN, OCT. 24, 1710.

WE directed a letter to the bishops of Ossory and Killaloe last August, desiring and empowering them to solicit the affair of our first-fruits and twentieth parts with her majesty; which has depended so long, notwithstanding her majesty's good intentions, and several promises of the chief governors here to lay our addresses before her majesty in the best manner. We were then apprehensive, that those bishops might return from England before the business could be effected, and therefore we desired them to concern you in it, having so good assurance of your ability, prudence, and fitness to prosecute such a matter. We find the bishops returned before you came to London, for which we are very much concerned; and judging this the most proper time to prosecute it with success, we entreat you to take the *full management* of it into your hands; and do commit the care of soliciting it to your diligence and prudence; desiring you to let us know from time to time what progress is made in it. And if any thing farther

be

be necessary on our part, on your intimation we shall be ready to do what shall be judged reasonable.

This, with our prayers for the good success of your endeavours, is all from, sir,

Yours, &c. NARCISSUS ARMAGH.
WILLIAM DUBLIN.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, NOV. 2, 1710.

THE declaration of his grace the duke of Ormond to be our lord lieutenant has stopped the farther letters of recommendation designed to be sent to you, because the bishops were unwilling to solicit the affair of the first-fruits and twentieth parts by any other hand. I gave them some account how far you had been concerned in it; and they ordered a letter to Mr. Southwell, to give him an account, that the papers were in your hands, and to desire you to wait on him with them, and take your own measures in soliciting the affair. I am not to conceal from you, that some expressed a little jealousy that you would not be acceptable to the present courtiers, intimating that you were under the reputation of being a favourite of the late party in power. You may remember I asked you the question before you were engaged in this affair, knowing of what moment it was; and by the coldness I found in some, I soon perceived what was at the bottom. I am of opinion, that this conjuncture

conjuncture of circumstance will oblige you to exert yourself with more vigour; and if it should succeed, you have gained your point; whereas if you should fail, it would cause no reflections, that having been the fate of so many before you.

I can be very little useful to you at this distance; but if you foresee any thing, wherein I may be serviceable to the business, or yourself, you may command, sir, Yours, &c.

WILL. DUBLIN.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, NOV. 4, 1710.

I AM most unhappily engaged this night, where I cannot write to your grace so long a letter as I intended; but I will make it up in a post or two. I have only now to tell you, that Mr. Harley has given me leave to acquaint my lord primate and your grace, that the queen has granted the first-fruits and twentieth parts to the clergy of Ireland. It was done above a fortnight ago; but I was then obliged to keep it a secret, as I hinted to your grace in my last letter. He has now given me leave to let your grace and my lord primate know it; only desires you will say nothing of it until a letter comes to you from my lord Dartmouth, secretary of state. All I know yet is, that the bishops are to be made a corporation for the disposal of the first-fruits, and that the twentieth parts

are to be remitted. I will write to your grace the particulars of my negociation. and some other amusements very soon. I humbly beg your grace to acquaint my lord primate with this. I had your grace's letter last post; and you will now see that your letters to the archbishop here are unnecessary. I was a little in pain about the duke of Ormond, who, I feared, might interpose in this matter, and be angry it was done without him: but Mr. Harley has very kindly taken this matter upon himself. It was yesterday I dined with him, and he told me all this; and to-morrow I dine with him again, where I may hear more. I shall obey your grace's directions, whether my stay here be farther necessary, after you have had the letter from the secretary's office. I know not what it will be; but, if any forms remain to finish, I shall be ready to assist in it as I have hitherto done. I have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with Mr. Harley's conduct in this whole affair. In three days he spoke of it to the queen, and gave her my memorial, and so continued until he got her grant. I am now in much company, and steal this time to write to your grace. The queen was resolved to have the whole merit of this affair to herself. Mr. Harley advised her to it; and next to her majesty he is the only person to be thanked. I suppose it will not be many days before you have the letter from my lord Dartmouth; and your grace will afterward signify your commands, if you have any for me. I shall go to the office, and see that a dispatch be made as soon as possible. I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,

Your grace's most dutiful
and most obedient humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, NOV. 16, 1710.

I HAVE before me your's of the 4th instant, which I received two posts ago. It was very grateful to me, and I hope it will have a good effect as to the church in general, and be of use to you in particular, which I heartily wish. My lord primate is out of town, and I have not seen him since I received your's, nor do I see any haste to communicate it to him; but in due time there will be no need to make a secret of it. I durst not have said any thing of it, if you had not given me the caution, lest any accident should intervene, to which all matters of this nature are liable. It puts a man out of countenance to raise expectations, if he should not be able to satisfy them. I understand that her majesty designed this should be her own act; but the good instruments, that have been subservient, ought not to be forgot; and, with God's help, I will do my endeavour that they shall not. I shall be impatient to see the accomplishment of this charitable work.

We are here in as great a ferment about choosing parliament men, on a supposition that this parliament will be dissolved as soon as your's in England. And it is remarkable, that such as design to betray their country, are more diligent to make votes, than those that have some faint intentions to serve it. It would prevent a great deal of needless charges and heats, if we certainly knew whether we should have a new parliament or not.

All

All business in chancery, and in truth all publick business, is at a stand, by the indisposition of my lord chancellor. I would tell you, that I am engaged most unhappily this night, to excuse this short letter; but the plain truth, I think, will do as well; which is, that I have no more to say but my prayers for you, &c.

WILL. DUBLIN.

MR. THOMAS SWIFT * TO MR. HARLEY.

SIR, PUTTENHAM, NOV. 21, 1710.

THE distressed Dove having hovered long upon the wing, and seen all things round her covered with Discord's universal deluge, so that she can find no rest for the sole † of her foot, closes up her wearied wings, and presents her olive to you.

That olive, which as it was thought at that time the fittest of all things to be sent to Noah as a sign of the fall of those waters, so may it prove now an auspicious hieroglyph of the abatement of these.

Her humility, sir, makes her lay this olive at your feet, which should rather be made into a wreath to adorn your head, whose wisdom and justice, like that of Noah's, has preserved you from that flood which overturned the Old World, and has made you judged worthy to be continued as the patriarch of the New.

* Swift's "Parson Cousin." See the Introduction to "The Tale of a Tub;" of which this Mr. Thomas Swift affected to be thought the author. N.

† Gen. viii. 9.

By

By which at the helm of this tossed ark, you ride it out secure: for although your vessel, like St. Paul's, is beaten upon by two seas; yet, by your great skill, you bear up against these impetuous engaging waves, steer between those dangerous quicksands, whereon less skilful pilots have shipwrecked, and stem these tides of state.

Sir, that most human, most Christian virtue, which has often been so earnestly recommended from the throne, and so little regarded by those about it; which is praised by so many, and understood by so few; which is still cryed up by those that are down, and cryed down by those that are up; acknowledges that cool evenness of temper, which is so fitting for a great man, and therefore hopes to find a patron in you.

A virtue, which I have formerly seen so much of in my own wise patron, that I cannot but honour it in any other person in whom I discern the perfections of it; and if the notions I have of it are either not so exact as they should be, or not so lively expressed; to make my readers full amends for what disappointment they may find in my defects, I turn their eyes upon one, in whom they may see the just features of that which I fall so short in the description of; which I desire you to accept of as a sufficient apology for the dedication here presented you by

Your honour's

most obedient, most humble servant,

THO. SWIFT.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, NOV. 23, 1710.

I HAD your grace's letter* not until this day: whether it lay in the secretary's office, or was kept by the wind, I cannot tell; but I would have exposed it immediately whenever it had come. Mr. Southwell told me two days ago of the letter† your grace mentions, which surprised me a good deal, when I remembered I had writ to your grace three weeks ago, that the queen had absolutely granted the first-fruits and twentieths, and that Mr. Harley had permitted me to signify the same to the primate and your grace. Perhaps that letter might not have reached your grace before that resolution of sending to the duke of Ormond; but, however, I gave you such an account of my reception from Mr. Harley, and his readiness to undertake this affair, and what steps he had already made in it, as I thought would have given you some sight in what way the business was; but Mr. Harley charged me to tell nobody alive what the queen had resolved on, till he gave me leave; and by the conclusion of a former letter, your grace might see you were to expect some farther intelligence very soon. Your grace may remember, that upon your telling me how backward the bishops were in giving me a power, I was very unwilling to go at all, and sent

* That which is dated Nov. 2. See p. 137. N.

† To the duke of Ormond, probably. N.

the

the dean of St. Patrick's * to tell you so; but you thought I could not handsomely put it off, when things were gone so far. Your objection then, about the disadvantage I lay under in point of party, I knew well enough how to answer, otherwise nothing should have prevailed on me to come hither; and if my lords the bishops doubt whether I have any credit with the present ministry, I will, if they please, undo this matter in as little time as I have done it. I did reckon your grace understood and believed me in what I said; and I reckon so still: but I will not be at the pains of undeceiving so many. I never proposed to myself either credit or profit by my labour, but the satisfaction of doing good, without valuing whether I had the merit of it or not: but the method now taken was the likeliest way to set all things backward, if it were not past danger. It shall be my business (until my lords the bishops forbid me to engage farther) to prevent any misunderstanding with Mr. Harley by this sudden step. The thing was all done before the duke of Ormond was named for lord lieutenant, so there was no affront at all to him; and Mr. Harley told me more than once, that such an interest was the properest, because he thought the queen herself should have the doing of it: but I said a great deal of this in former letters. If your grace has any commands for me of your own, I shall obey them with all cheerfulness, being, with great respect, my lord,

Your grace's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

* Dr. Sterne. N.

TO THE SAME.

MY LORD, LONDON, NOV. 28, 1710.

A DAY or two after I received your grace's letter, of the second instant, I dined with Mr. Southwell, who showed me the letter of the bishops to the duke of Ormond, and another letter from the bishop of Kildare * to Mr. Southwell †, to desire him to get the papers from me, which I shall send him as soon as I have looked them out. Mr. Southwell said, that a month or two hence, when the duke began to think of this journey, it would be time enough to solicit this affair. Upon this I told him frankly, that the queen had already granted the first-fruits, and that I had writ to your grace by Mr. Harley's directions, but that my letter did not reach you until your's was sent to the duke and him; and that therefore I thought it would be a very odd step to begin again. He said, he was glad it was done, and that he did not design to take any of the credit from me, &c. I told him sincerely, it was what I did not regard at all, and provided the church had the benefit, it was indifferent to me how it came about, and so we parted. I had told the duke of Ormond at first that I would apply myself to Mr. Harley if his grace advised it, which he did; and I afterward told Mr. Southwell, that Mr. Harley had been very

* Dr. Welbore Ellis. N.

† Right hon. Edward Southwell, secretary of state for Ireland. N.

kind in promising his good offices: farther I durst not speak, being under an engagement of secresy to Mr. Harley; and the whole thing was done before the duke was declared lord lieutenant. If your grace considers the time you sent me the paper, you will judge what dispatch was made; in two days after, I delivered a memorial I drew up to Mr. Harley; and in less than a fortnight he had treated the matter four times with the queen, and then told me she had granted it absolutely, as my memorial desired, but charged me to tell no man alive; and your grace may remember, that one of my letters ended with something as if I were limited, and would say more in a short time. In about a week after, I had leave to inform the primate and your grace, as I did in my letter of the 4th instant. It is to be considered, that the queen was all this while at Hampton Court or Windsor, so that I think the dispatch was very great. But indeed, I expected a letter would have been sent from the secretary's office, to signify this matter in due form; and so it will: but Mr. Harley had a mind first to bring me to the queen, for that and some other matters; and she came to town not a week ago, and was out of order one day when it was designed I should attend her, and, since, the parliament's beginning has taken her up: but in a few days, Mr. Harley tells me he will introduce me. This I tell your grace in confidence, only to satisfy you in particular, why the queen has not yet sent a letter in form. Upon that dispatch to Mr. Southwell, I was perplexed to the last degree. I did not value the slighting manner of the bishop of Kildare's letter, barely desiring Mr. Southwell to call on me for

for the papers, without any thing farther, as if I had been wholly insignificant; but I was at a loss how to behave myself with the duke and Mr. Harley. I met the latter yesterday in the court of requests, and he whispered me to dine with him. At dinner, I told him of the dispatch to Mr. Southwell, and rallied him for putting me under difficulties with his secrets; that I was running my head against a wall; that he reckoned he had done the church and me a favour; that I should disoblige the duke of Ormond; and that the bishops in Ireland thought I had done nothing, and had therefore taken away my commission. He told me, your lordship had taken it away in good time, for the thing was done; and that, as for the duke of Ormond, I need not be uneasy; for he would let his grace know it as soon as he saw him, which would be in a day or two, at the treasury; and then promised again to carry me to the queen, with the first opportunity. Your grace now sees how the affair stands, and whether I deserve such treatment from the bishops; from every part whereof I wholly exclude your grace, and could only wish my first letter, about the progress I had made, had found so much credit with you, as to have delayed that dispatch until you heard once more from me. I had at least so much discretion, not to pretend I had done more than I really did, but rather less; and if I had consulted my own interest, I should have employed my credit with the present ministry another way. The bishops are mistaken in me; it is well known here, that I could have made my markets with the last ministry if I had pleased; and the present men in power are very well apprized

of it, as your grace may, if I live to see you again; which I certainly never would in Ireland, if I did not flatter myself that I am upon a better foot with your grace, than with some other of their lordships. Your grace is pleased to command me to continue my solicitations; but as now there will be no need of them, so I think my commission is at an end, ever since I had notice of that dispatch to Mr. Southwell. However, in obedience to your grace, if there be any thing to be done about expediting the forms, wherein my service can be of use, I will readily perform as far as I am able: but I must tell your grace what gives me the greatest displeasure, that I had hopes to prevail that the queen should in some months be brought to remit the crown-rents, which I named in my memorial, but in an article by itself; and which Mr. Harley had given me some hopes of, and I have some private reasons to think might have been brought about. I mentioned it in the memorial, only as from myself; and therefore, if I have an opportunity, I shall venture to mention it to the queen, or at least repeat it to Mr. Harley. This I do as a private man, whom the bishops no longer own. It is certainly right to pay all civilities, and make applications to a lord lieutenant; but, without some other means, a business may hang long enough, as this of the first-fruits did for four years under the duke of Ormond's last government, although no man loves the church of Ireland better than his grace; but such things are forgot and neglected between the governor and his secretaries, unless solicited by somebody who has the business at heart. But I have done, and shall trouble your grace no farther upon this affair; and

on

on other occasions, while I am here, will endeavour to entertain you with what is likely to pass in this busy scene, where all things are taking a new, and, I think, a good turn; and where, if you please, I will write to you, with that freedom I formerly did; and I beg your grace to employ me in any commands you may have here, which I shall be prouder to obey, than to have ever so much merit with some others; being, with perfect respect, my lord,

Your grace's most dutiful
and most obedient humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

Your grace will please to direct for me at St. James's coffee-house, St. James's-street.

Two hundred members supped last night at the Fountain tavern, where they went to determine about a chairman for elections. Medlicot and Manley were the two candidates; but the company could not agree, and parted in an ill humour. It is a matter of some moment, and I hope it will be amicably made up; but the great rock we are afraid of, is a dissension among the majority, because the weakest part, when they grow discontented, know where to retire, and be received.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, NOV. 30, 1710.

I RECEIVED your's of the 23d, by last packet. I was aware of what you observed, when the letter to his grace was signed; but it was before I received your's

your's of the 4th instant, wherein you tell me, that the business was in effect done; nor could I have any certain prospect that it would be done from any intimation that I had before from you. You must know that this was not the only thing displeased me in the letter; it was drawn and signed by some before I saw it. I looked on it as a snare laid in my way; nor must you wonder that some are better at making their court, than serving the church; and can flatter much better, than vote on the right side. Those that had rendered themselves justly obnoxious by deserting his grace's * friends and interest in notorious instances, think they have salved all by this early application, and perhaps it may prove so.

But if the matter be done, assure yourself it will be known by whom, and what means it was effected.

In the mean time, God forbid you should think of slacking your endeavours to bring it to perfection. I am yet under an obligation not to say any thing of the matter from your letter; and while so, it would be hard for me to refuse to sign such a letter as that you mention, or find a pretence for so doing; but when the business is done, the means and methods will likewise be known, and every body have their due that contributed to it.

I shall reckon nothing done till the queen's letter come here. You may remember how we were borne in hand in my lord Pembroke's time, that the queen had passed the grant; which, after a whole year's expectation and solicitation, proved only a mouthful of moonshine. But, if it succeeds better now, we must owe it, next to the queen's goodness and

* The duke of Ormond. See p. 124.

bounty,

bounty, to the great care of the great man to whom you have applied, and to your management. It is seven or eight years since we first attempted this affair, and it passed through several hands; yet no progress was made in it, which was certainly due to the ill methods taken to put it forward; which, in truth, instead of promoting, obstructed it. At the very first motion, it was promised, and in a fair way; but the bishops here, out of their abundant deference to the government, made the same wrong step they would have done now; and we could never make the least progress since, till now, and I pray God we have not put it back again.

You must not imagine, that it is out of any disaffection to you, or any distrust of your ability or diligence, that the bishops here were so cold in their employing you; but they reckon on party; and though several knew what you were, yet they imagined, and some vouched, that you were looked on at court as engaged on the other side; and you cannot do yourself a greater service than to bring this to a good issue, to their shame and conviction. I heartily recommend you and your business to God's care. I am, &c.

WILL. DUBLIN.

FROM THE SAME.

SIR, DUBLIN, DEC. 16, 1710.

THIS is to acknowledge the receipt of your's of the 28th ult. which came not to my hands till Thursday last, by reason of winds, that kept the packets on the other side.

I find

I find the matter of our first-fruits, &c. is talked of now. I reckon on nothing certain till her majesty's letter comes in form; and quære, why should you not come and bring it with you? It would make you a very welcome clergyman to Ireland, and be the best means to satisfy mankind how it was obtained, although I think it will be out of dispute. I am very well apprised of the dispatch you gave this affair, and well pleased, that I judged better of the person fit to be employed, than some of my brethren. But now it is done, as I hope it is effectually, they will assume as much as their neighbours; which I shall never contradict.

Things are taking a new turn here as well as with you; and I am of opinion, by the time you come here, few will profess themselves whigs. The greatest danger I apprehend, and which terrifies me more than perhaps you will be able to imagine, is the fury and indiscretion of some of our own people; who never had any merit, but, by embroiling things, they did, and I am afraid will yet do, mischief. You will soon hear of a great conspiracy discovered in the county of Westmeath *. I was used to so many discoveries of plots in the latter end of king Charles's time, and the beginning of king James's, that I am not surprised at this discovery. I must not say any thing of it, till all the witnesses be examined: so many as have deposed are not decisive. The design of it is to show all the gentlemen of Ireland to be a pack of desperate whigs, ready to rise up in arms against her majesty, for the old ministry, associating to that purpose.

* The information of Dominick Langton, a converted priest; of whom see hereafter, in a letter of Oct. 27, 1711. N.

Whether

Whether it be for the interest of Ireland to have this believed you may judge; and sure there must be good evidence to make any reasonable man believe it. Mr. Higgins * has drawn up the narrative, and sent it to England, and will pawn all he is worth to make it good. I heartily recommend you to God's favour; and am, &c. WILL. DUBLIN.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, DEC. 30, 1710.

I HAVE just received your grace's letter of the 16th; and I was going however to write again to your grace, not upon business, but to amuse you with something from hence, which no man wants more than your grace, considering the variety of other people's affairs you have always on your hands, as well as the church's and your own, which are the same thing. The duke of Ormond told me the

* Francis Higgins, M. A. prebendary of Christ-church in Dublin, and rector of Balruddery in that county. He was afterward presented by the grand jury of the county of Dublin, on the 5th of October, 1711, as a sower of sedition, and groundless jealousies, among her majesty's protestant subjects. Higgins published an answer to the presentment on the 9th, with a testimonial of the lower house of convocation in his favour. And on the 10th of the said month, Henry lord Santry presented a petition to the lord lieutenant and privy council of Ireland, desiring that Mr. Higgins might be turned out of the commission of the peace. See a letter, dated Oct. 27, 1711. But, after several hearings of the case, before the lord lieutenant and council, he was, on the 19th of November following, cleared; though the archbishop of Dublin voted in the negative against him. N.

other day that the primate declined very fast, and was hardly able to sign a paper. I said, I wondered they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonth past. I hope, for the church's good, that your grace's friends will do their duty, in representing you as the person the kingdom wishes to succeed him. I know not how your dispositions stand that way. I know my lord president has great credit at present, and I have understood him to be a friend to your grace. I can only say, I have no regard to your interest in this, but that of the church; and therefore should be very glad to drop in a word where it lies in my way, if I thought it would not be disagreeable to you. I dread their sending a person from hence, which I shall venture to prevent with all the little credit I have, and should be glad to see a primate of our own kingdom and university; and that is all I shall venture to say on this subject.

Marshal Staremberg* has certainly got to Saragossa with 7000 men, and the duke of Vendosme† has sent him his equipage. Mr. Stanhope was positive to part forces with Staremberg, which occasioned this loss; and when the battle was, they were several miles asunder. The duke of Marlborough was yesterday an hour with the queen; it was sent him at twelve at noon, when it was likely his visit should be shortest. Mr. St. John was with her just before, and Mr. Harley just after. The duke's behaviour was with the most abject submission; "that he was the meanest of her majesty's instruments; her

* General and commander of the Imperial forces in Spain. F.

† Commander of the French. F.

humble

humble creature, a poor worm *;" &c. This I had from a lord to whom the queen told it; for the ministers never tell any thing; and it is only by picking out and comparing that one can ever be the wiser for them. I took leave yesterday of lord Peterborow, who is going in a day or two to Vienna: I said I wished he were going to Spain; he told me, "he hoped his present journey would be to more purpose;" and by what I can gather, they will use all means to make as speedy a peace as possible, with safety and honour. Lord Rivers tells me he will not set out for Hanover this month. I asked him about his late reception there, because the town was full of stories about it; he assured me he could not desire a better; and if it were otherwise, I believe he would hardly be pitched upon to be sent again. The young people in parliament are very eager to have some inquiries made into past managements, and are a little angry with the slackness of the ministry upon that article; they say, they have told those who sent them, that the queen's calling a new parliament was to correct and look into former abuses; and if something of the latter be not done, they know not how to answer it. I am not altogether satisfied how the ministry is disposed in this point. Your grace has heard there was much talk lately of sir Richard Levintz's † design to impeach lord Wharton; and several persons of great consideration in the house assured me they would give him all encouragement; and I

* If the duke had that meanness, the queen laughed at him. N.

† Speaker of the house of commons, and lord chief justice of the queen's bench. H.

have

have reason to know, it would be acceptable to the court: but sir Richard is the most timorous man alive, and they all begin to look upon him in that character, and to hope nothing from him: however, they talk of some other inquiries when the parliament meets after this recess; and it is often in people's mouths that February will be a warm month; but this I can affirm nothing of, and I hope your grace will distinguish between what I affirm, and what I report: as to the first, you may securely count upon it; the other you will please to take as it is sent.

Since the letter from the bishops to the duke of Ormond, I have been a much cooler solicitor; for I look upon myself no longer a deputed person. Your grace may be fully satisfied that the thing is granted, because I had orders to report it to you from the prime minister; the rest is form, and may be done at any time; as for bringing the letter over myself, I must again profess to your grace, that I do not regard the reputation of it at all; perhaps I might if I were in Ireland; but, when I am on this side, a certain pride seizes me, from very different usage I meet with, which makes me look on things in another light: but besides I beg to tell your grace in confidence, that the ministry have desired me to continue here some time longer, for certain reasons, that I may some time have the honour to tell you. As for every body's knowing what is done in the first-fruits, it was I that told it; for, after I saw the bishop's letter, I let every one know it in perfect spite, and told Mr. Harley and Mr. secretary St. John so. However, in humble deference to your grace's opinion, and not to appear sullen,

sullen, I did yesterday complain to Mr. secretary St. John, that Mr. Harley had not yet got the letter from the queen to confirm the grant of the first fruits; that I had lost reputation by it; and that I took it very ill of them both; and that their excuses of parliament business, and grief for the loss in Spain, were what I would bear no longer. He took all I had said very well, and desired I would call to him to-morrow morning, and he would engage, if Mr. Harley had not done it, he himself would in a day or two. As soon as there is any issue of this, I shall inform your grace; and I have reason to think it is a trifle they will not refuse me.

I think I had from other hands some accounts of that ridiculous plot your grace mentions *, but it is not yet talked of here, neither have any of the ministry mentioned a word of it to me, although they are well apprised of some affairs in Ireland; for I had two papers given me by a great man, one about the sentence of the defacers of the statue, and the other about a trial before the lord chief justice Broderick, for some words in the north, spoken by a clergyman against the queen. I suppose your grace reckons upon a new parliament in Ireland, with some alterations in the council, the law, and the revenue. Your grace is the most exact correspondent I ever had, and the dean of St. Patrick's directly contrary, which I hope you will remember to say to him upon the occasion.

I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,

Your grace's most dutiful

and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

* See p. 152. N.

I have

I have read over this letter, and find several things relating to affairs here, that are said in perfect confidence to your grace: if they are told again, I only desire it may not be known from what hand they came.

FROM THE SAME.

MY LORD, JANUARY 4th, 1710-11.

HAVING writ to your grace so lately, I only now make bold to let you know, that on Tuesday I was to wait on Mr. secretary St. John, who told me from Mr. Harley, that I need not to be in pain about the first-fruits, for the warrant was drawn in order toward a patent; but must pass two several forms, and take up some time, for the queen designs to make a grant by her letters patent. I shall take all due methods to hasten it as far as I am able; but in these cases they are generally pretty tedious. Mr. Harley likewise sent me the same day, by another person, the same message. I dined with him about four days ago; but there being much company, and he going away in haste pretty soon after dinner, he had not time to tell me so himself. Indeed he has been so ready to do every thing in this matter as I would have him, that he never needed pressing; which, considering both the weight and difficulty of affairs at present on his shoulders, is very extraordinary, and what I never met from a great minister before. I had thought, and so Mr. Harley told me, that the queen would have

have sent a letter to the bishops: but this is a shorter way, and I hope your grace will like it.

I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,
Your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I am told from a good hand, that in a short time the house of commons will fall upon some inquiries into the late management.

I took leave yesderday of lord Peterborow, who, I suppose, is this day set out on his journey to Vienna *; he is a little discouraged, and told me, he did not hope for any great success in what he went upon. He is one of those many who are mightily bent upon having some such inquiries made as I have mentioned.

FROM MR. SECRETARY ST. JOHN †.

SUNDAY, PAST TWELVE, JAN. 7, 1710-11.

THERE are few things I would be more industrious to bring about than opportunities of seeing you. Since you was here in the morning, I have found means of putting off the engagement I was under for to-morrow; so that I expect you to dine with me at three o'clock. I send you this early notice, to prevent you from any other appointment.

I am ever, reverend sir,
your obedient humble servant,
H. ST. JOHN.

* Dr. Swift repeats this passage in the Journal to Stella, of Jan. 4, 1710-11. N.

† Then principal secretary of state for the Southern provinces. N.

TO MR. SECRETARY ST. JOHN.

SIR, JAN. 7, 1710-11.

THOUGH I should not value such usage from a secretary of state, and a great minister; yet when I consider the person it comes from, I can endure it no longer. I would have you know, sir, that if the queen gave you a dukedom and the garter to-morrow, with the treasury staff at the end of them, I would regard you no more than if you were not worth a groat. I could almost resolve, in spite, not to find fault with my victuals, or be quarrelsome to-morrow at your table; but if I do not take the first opportunity to let all the world know some qualities in you that you take most care to hide, may my right hand forget its cunning. After which threatening, believe me, if you please, to be with the greatest respect, sir,

Your most obedient, most obliged,
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, JAN. 9, 1710-11.

I RECEIVED your's of December the 30th by the last packets; it found me in the extremity of the gout, which is the more cruel, because I have not had a fit of it for two years and a half. I strain myself

myself to give you an answer to-night, apprehending that as both my feet and knees are already affected, my hands may perhaps be so by the next post; and then, perhaps, I may not be able to answer you in a month, which might lose me some part of the praise you give me as a good correspondent.

As to my lord primate, he is much better since he was put into the government, and I reckon his life may be longer than mine; but, with God's help, hereafter I will say more on this subject.

As to what is reported of Mr. Stanhope's obstinacy, I demur, till satisfied how far the kindness to him, as a manager, influences the report.

We have received an answer from his grace the duke of Ormond to our letter. It is in a very authentick and solemn form, "that his grace will take a proper time to lay our request before her majesty, and know her pleasure on it." By which I conclude two things: first, that his grace is not informed of any grant her majesty has made; for if he had, he would have applied immediately and sent it; and then it would have passed for his, and he would have had the merit of it. Secondly, that his grace is in no haste about it. And therefore let me beseech you to solicit and press it, and get the letter dated, as when first it was promised: but I confess I have still some scruple in my mind about it.

I acknowledge you have not been treated with due regard in Ireland, for which there is a plain reason, *prægravat artes infra se positas, &c.* I am glad you meet with more due returns where you are: and as this is the time to make some use of your interest for yourself, do not forget it.

We have published here a Character of the earl of Wharton *, late lord lieutenant of Ireland. I have so much charity and justice as to condemn all such proceedings. If a governor behave himself ill, let him be complained of, and punished; but to wound any man thus in the dark * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. When this is over, they may do what they please; and sure it will please them to see the crow stripped of her rappareed feathers. We begin to be in pain for the duke of Marlborough.

I hear an answer is printing to the earl of Wharton's character. Pray was there ever such licentiousness of the press as at this time? Will the parliament not think of curbing it?

I heartily recommend you, &c.

WILL. DUBLIN.

FROM THE SAME.

JANUARY 13, 1710-11.

MY gout gives me leave yet to answer your's of the 4th instant, which was very acceptable to me; because I find by it some farther steps are made in our business. I believe it will take up some time and thoughts to frame a warrant, and much more a patent for such an affair †. Except your lawyers there be of another humour than ours here, they

* See it in the third volume of this collection. N.

† The patent was completed Feb. 7. See Journal to Stella, Feb. 9, 1710-11. N.

will

will not write a line without their fees; and therefore I should think it necessary some fund should be thought of to fee them. If you think this motion pertinent, I can think of no other way at present to answer it, than, if you think it necessary, to allow you to draw upon me, and my bill to this purpose, less than 100*l.* shall be punctually answered. I write thus, because I have no notion how such a thing should pass the offices without some money; and I have an entire confidence in you, that you will lay out no more than what is necessary.

I think your ministers perfectly right to avoid all inquiry, and every thing that would embroil them. To appeal to the mob, that can neither inquire nor judge, is a proceeding, that I think the common sense of mankind should condemn. Perhaps he may deserve this usage; but a good man may fall under the same.

We expect a new parliament, and many changes; but I believe some we hear of will not be.

Your observation of the two sentences * is just. You will pardon this disjointed letter. I believe my respects are better than the expressions here.

I am, *&c.*

WILL. DUBLIN.

* Those mentioned in Swift's letter of Dec. 30, 1710. See before, p. 157. N.

TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROW.

MY LORD, FEBRUARY .... 1710-11.

I ENVY none of the queen's subjects so much as those who are abroad: and I desire to know, whether, as great a soul as your lordship has, you did not observe your mind to open and enlarge, after you were some leagues at sea, and had left off breathing party air. I am apt to think this schism in politicks has cloven our understandings, and left us but just half the good sense that blazed in our actions; and we see the effect it has had upon our wit and learning, which are crumbled into pamphlets and penny papers. The October club, which was in its rudiments when your lordship left us, is now growing up to be a party by itself, and begins to rail at the ministry as much as the whigs do, but from topicks directly contrary. I am sometimes talked into frights, and told that all is ruined; but am immediately cured when I see any of the ministry; not from the satisfaction they give me in any one point, but because I see them so perfectly easy, and I believe they could not be so if they had any fear at heart. My comfort is, they are persons of great abilities, and they are engaged in a good cause. And what is one very good circumstance, as I told three of them the other day, they seem heartily to love one another, in spite of the scandal of inconstancy which court friendships lie under. And I can affirm to your lordship, they heartily love you too; which I take to be a great deal more than when they assure you so themselves: for

for even statesmen will sometimes discover their passions, especially their good ones.

Here is a pamphlet come out, called, "A Letter to Jacob Banks," showing that the liberty of Sweden was destroyed by the principle of passive obedience. I know not whether his quotation be fair, but the piece is shrewdly written: and in my opinion, not to be answered, otherwise than by disclaiming that sort of passive obedience which the tories are charged with. This dispute would soon be ended, if the dunces who write on each side, would plainly tell us what the object of this passive obedience is in our country: for, I dare swear, nine in ten of the whigs will allow it to be the legislature, and as many of the tories deny it to the prince alone; and I hardly ever saw a whig and a tory together, whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article, when I made them explain themselves.

My lord, the queen knew what she did, when she sent your lordship to spur up a dull northern court: yet, I confess I had rather have seen that activity of mind and body employed in conquering another kingdom, or the same over again.

I am, my lord, *&c.*

JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. NELSON *.

REVEREND SIR, ASH WEDNESDAY, FEB. 22, 1710-11.

I BEG leave to put you in mind of the inscription which you are to prepare for the earl of Berkeley's monument †. My lady dowager has determined to have it in Latin, so that I hope you want no farther directions toward the finishing of it. The workman calls upon me for it, which is the reason of this trouble given you, by, reverend sir, your most humble servant,

ROBERT NELSON.

[On the back of this letter is the following first draft of the intended inscription ‡, in the handwriting of Dr. Swift.]

" H. S. E.

" Carolus comes de Berkeley, vicecomes de Dursley, baro Berkeley de castro de Berkeley, dominus Moubray, Segrave, et Bruce; dominus locumtenens comitatûs Glocestriæ; civitatis Glocestriæ magnus seneschallus; guardianus de forestâ de Dean; custos rotulorum comitatûs de Surrey; et reginæ Annæ à secretioribus consiliis. Ob fidem spectatam, linguarum peritiam, et prudentiam, à rege Gulielmo III. ablegatus et plenipotentiarius ad ordines fœderati Belgii per quinque annos arduis

* Mr. Nelson had married the Earl of Berkeley's sister, lady Theophila, the relict of sir Kingsmill Lucy. She died in 1705. N.

† In Berkeley-church, Gloucestershire. N.

‡ See the complete inscription, among the Dean's poetical writings, in vol. XVI. N.

reipublicæ negotiis fœliciter invigilavit. Ob quæ merita ab eodem rege (vivente adhuc patre) in magnatum numerum adscriptus, et consiliarius à secretis factus: et ad Hiberniam secundus inter tres summos justiciarios missus. Denique legatus extraordinarius designatus ad Turcarum imperium: et postea, regnante Annâ, ad Cæsarem ablegatus: quæ munia, ingravescente valetudine et senectute, obire nequiit. Natus Londini, 1649. Obiit . . . . . , 1710, æt. 62."

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, MARCH 8, 1710-11.

I WRITE to your grace under the greatest disturbance of mind for the publick and myself*. A gentleman came in where I dined this afternoon, and told us Mr. Harley was stabbed, and some confused particulars. I immediately ran to secretary St. John's hard by, but nobody was at home; I met Mrs. St. John in her chair, who could not satisfy me, but was in pain about the secretary, who, as she heard, had killed the murderer. I went strait to Mr. Harley's, where abundance of people were to inquire. I got young Mr. Harley to me: He said his father was asleep, and they hoped in no danger, and then told me the fact, as I shall relate it to your grace. This day the marquis de

* See Journal to Stella, of the same date. N.

Guiscard

Guiscard was taken up for high treason, by a warrant of Mr. St. John, and examined before a committee of council in Mr. St. John's office; where were present, the dukes of Ormond, Buckingham, Shrewsbury, earl Powlet, Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, and others. During examination, Mr. Harley observed Guiscard, who stood behind him, but on one side, swearing and looking disrespectfully. He told him he ought to behave himself better, while he was examined for such a crime. Guiscard immediately drew a penknife out of his pocket, which he had picked out of some of the offices, and reaching round, stabbed him just under the breast, a little to the right side; but it pleased God that the point stopped at one of the ribs, and broke short half an inch. Immediately Mr. St. John rose, drew his sword, and ran it into Guiscard's breast. Five or six more of the council drew, and stabbed Guiscard in several places: but the earl Powlet called out, for God's sake, to spare Guiscard's life, that he might be made an example; and Mr. St. John's sword was taken from him and broke: and the footmen without ran in, and bound Guiscard, who begged he might be killed immediately; and they say, called out three or four times, "My lord Ormond, my lord Ormond." They say Guiscard resisted them a while, until the footmen came in. Immediately Bucier the surgeon was sent for, who dressed Mr. Harley: and he was sent home. The wound bled fresh, and they do not apprehend him in danger: he said, when he came home, he thought himself in none; and when I was there he was asleep, and they did not find him at all feverish. He has been ill this week, and told me last Saturday, he found himself

himself much out of order, and has been abroad but twice since; so that the only danger is, lest his being out of order should, with the wound, put him in a fever; and I shall be in mighty pain till to-morrow morning. I went back to poor Mrs. St. John, who told me, her husband was with my lord keeper *, at Mr. Attorney's †, and she said something to me very remarkable: "that going to-day to pay her duty to the queen, when all the men and ladies were dressed to make their appearance, this being the day of the queen's accession, the lady of the bedchamber in waiting told her the queen had not been at church, and saw no company; yet, when she inquired her health, they said she was very well, only had a little cold." We conceive, the queen's reason for not going out, might be something about this seizing of Guiscard for high treason, and that perhaps there was some plot, or something extraordinary. Your grace must have heard of this Guiscard: he fled from France for villanies there, and was thought on to head an invasion of that kingdom, but was not liked. I know him well, and think him a fellow of little consequence, although of some cunning, and much villany. We passed by one another this day in the Mall, at two o'clock, an hour before he was taken up; and I wondered he did not speak to me.

I write all this to your grace, because I believe you would desire to know a true account of so important an accident; and besides, I know you will have a thousand false ones; and I believe every

* Sir Simon Harcourt. N.

† Sir John Trevor. N.

material

material circumstance here is true, having it from young Mr. Harley. I met sir Thomas Mansel (it was then after six this evening) and he and Mr. Prior told me, they had just seen Guiscard carried by in a chair, with a strong guard, to Newgate, or the Press-yard. Time, perhaps, will show, who was at the bottom of all this; but nothing could happen so unluckily to England, at this juncture, as Mr. Harley's death; when he has all the schemes for the greatest part of the supplies in his head, and the parliament cannot stir a step without him. Neither can I altogether forget myself, who, in him, should lose a person I have more obligations to than any other in this kingdom; who has always treated me with the tenderness of a parent, and never refused me any favour I asked for a friend; therefore I hope your grace will excuse the disorder of this letter. I was intending, this night, to write one of another sort.——I must needs say, one great reason for writing these particulars to your grace was, that you might be able to give a true account of the fact, which will be some sort of service to Mr. Harley. I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,

Your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I have read over what I writ, and find it confused and incorrect, which your grace must impute to the violent pain of mind I am in, greater than ever I felt in my life.——It must have been the utmost height of desperate guilt which could have spirited that wretch to such an action. I have not heard whether his wounds are dangerous; but I pray

pray God he may recover, to receive his reward, and that we may learn the bottom of his villany. It is not above ten days ago, that I was interceding with the secretary in his behalf, because I heard he was just starving; but the secretary assured me he had 400*l.* a year pension.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, MARCH 17, 1710-11.

I RETURN you my thanks for your's of the 8th instant. I do not wonder, that you were in some confusion when you wrote it; for I assure you I read it with great horrour, which such a fact is apt to create in every body, that is not hardened in wickedness. I received several other letters with narratives of the same, and saw some, that came to other hands; but none so particular, or that could be so well depended upon. I observe, that, among them all, there is no account of the matters laid to Guiscard's charge, of his design, or how he came to be discovered. I suppose those are yet secrets, as it is fit they should be. I do remember something of this Guiscard; and that he was to head an invasion; and that he published a very foolish narrative*; but neither remember exactly the time, or under what ministry it was, or who were his patrons. It

* The marquis de Guiscard's Memoirs were published, with a dedication to queen Anne, dated at the Hague, May 10, 1705. B.

seems

seems convenient, that these should be known; because it is reported, that Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John were those who chiefly countenanced him, and he their peculiar favourite. One would think this should convince the world, that Mr. Harley is not in the French interest, but it has not yet had that effect with all: nay, some whisper the case of Fenius Rufus, and Scevinus in the 13th book of Tacitus, *accensis indicibus ad prodendum Fenium Rufum, quem eundem conscium et inquisitorem non tolerabant.* Mr. St. John is condemned for wounding Guiscard; and had he killed him, there would not have wanted some to suggest, that it was done on purpose, lest he should tell tales.

We had a strange piece of news by last packet, that the address to her majesty met with but a cold reception from one party in the house of commons; and that all the lords, spiritual and temporal, of that party, went out when it passed in the lords house. But I make it a rule, never to believe party news, except I have it immediately from a sure hand.

I was in hopes to have heard something of our first-fruits and twentieth parts; but I doubt that matter sleeps, and that it will be hard to awaken it.

You will expect no news from home. We eat and drink as we used to do. The parties are tolerably silent, but those for the late ministry seem to be united, keep much together, and are so wise as not to make much noise: nor have I heard any thing of their sentiments of late, only what has happened on this accident. I heartily recommend you to God's care.

I am, &c. WILL. DUBLIN

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, APRIL 10, 1711.

I HAD lately the honour of a letter from your grace, and waited to acknowledge it until something material should happen, that might recompense the trouble. My occasion of writing to you at present is purely personal to your grace. A report was beginning to run here, by some letters from Ireland, that your grace had applied the passage you mention of Rufus, in a speech you made to your clergy, which I ventured to contradict, as an impossibility, and inconsistent with your general opinion, and what was in your letter. Mr. Southwell and Mr. Dopping were of the same mind; and the former says, he has writ to your grace about it. I should have thought no more of the matter, but let it spend like an idle story below notice: only dining last Sunday with one of the principal secretaries of state, he gave me a letter to read, which he had just received from the printer of the newspaper called The Postboy, in which was a transcript of a letter from Dublin; and the secretary being mentioned in that transcript, the man would not publish it without his advice. It contained an account how the news of Mr. Harley's being stabbed had been received by the whigs in Dublin: of which he produced some instances. Then he mentions the passage out of Tacitus, and concludes thus: "The first that mentioned it was the archbishop of Dublin, who took notice of it first at a meeting of his clergy:

clergy; and afterward, in the hearing of several persons, was reprimanded for it in a civil though sharp manner, by one of the chief ministers there, well known for his steady loyalty to her majesty, and his zealous service to the church of England, under her late perilous trial." I immediately told the secretary, that I knew this must be false and misrepresented, and that he must give me leave to scratch out that passage, which I accordingly did; and for fear of any mistake, I made him give me afterward the whole letter, that I might have it in my power. The next day I sent for the printer, and told him what I had done; and upon farther thoughts I stifled the whole letter, and the secretary approved of it. I likewise told the printer, that when he had any thing relating to Ireland, I had the secretary's order (which was true) to send it me, that he might not do injury to men's reputations, by what was represented to him from ignorant or malicious hands in that kingdom. The letter was to have been printed this day in The Postboy, with that conclusion reflecting on your grace, which is happily prevented; for, although your character and station place you above the malice of little people, yet your friends would be extremely concerned to see your name made so bold with in a common newspaper.

I humbly hope your grace will not disapprove of what I have done: at least, I have gratified my own inclination, in the desire of serving you; and besides, had the opportunity of giving Mr. Secretary some part of your character.

I dare lay a wager, that all this happened by the gross understandings of some people, who misunderstood

derstood and misapplied something very innocent that came from your grace. I must be so bold to say, that people in that kingdom do very ill understand raillery. I can rally much safer here with a great minister of state or a duchess, than I durst do there with an attorney or his wife. And I can venture to rally with your grace, although I could not do it with many of your clergy. I myself have been a witness, when want of common sense has made people offended with your grace, where they ought to have been the most pleased. I say things every day at the best tables, which I should be turned out of company for if I were in Ireland.

Here is one Mr. Richardson, a clergyman, who is soliciting an affair that I find your grace approves *; and therefore I do him all the service I can in it.

We are now full of the business of the Irish yarn: and I attend among the rest, to engage the members I am acquainted with, in our interest. To-morrow we expect it will come on.

I will shortly write to your grace some account how public affairs stand; we hope Mr. Harley will be well in a week.

We have news from Brussels that the dauphin is dead of an apoplexy. I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,

Your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I wish your grace would enclose your commands to me, directed to Erasmus Lewis, esq. at my lord Dartmouth's office at Whitehall; for I have left off going to coffee-houses.

* The printing of Irish Bibles. N.

FROM LORD PETERBOROW.

FOR THE REV. DR. SWIFT, BISHOP OF, OR DEAN OF, ETC.

SIR, VIENNA, APRIL 18, 1711.

I HAVE often with pleasure reflected upon the glorious possibilities of the English constitution; but I must apply to politicks a French expression appropriated by them to beauty: there is a *je ne sçai quoi* among us, which makes us troublesome with our learning, disagreeable with our wit, poor with our wealth, and insignificant with our power.

I could never despise any body for what they have not, and am only provoked, when they make not the right use of what they have. This is the greatest mortification, to know the advantages we have by art and nature, and see them disappointed by self-conceit and faction. What patience could bear the disappointment of a good scheme by the October club?

I have with great uneasiness received imperfect accounts of a disagreement among ourselves. The party we have to struggle with has strength enough to require our united endeavours. We should not attack their firm body like Hussars. Let the victory be secure before we quarrel for the spoils; let it be considered whether their yoke were easy, or their burden light. What! must there ever be in St. Stephen's chapel, a majority either of knaves or fools?

But seriously, I have long apprehended the effects of that universal corruption, which has been

improved with so much care, and has so fitted us for the tyranny designed, that we are grown I fear insensible of slavery, and almost unworthy of liberty.

The gentlemen, who give you no other satisfaction in politicks than the appearances of ease and mirth, I wish I could partake with them in their good humour: but tokay itself has no effect upon me while I see affairs so unsettled; faction so strong, and credit so weak; and all services abroad under the utmost difficulties by past miscarriages and present want of money; but we are told here, that in the midst of victory, orders are given to sound a parley, I will say a retreat. Give me leave to tell the churchman, that there is not in * * * * * * †.

I have rid the resty horse you say they gave me, in ploughed lands, till I have made him tame. I wish they manage the dull jades as well at home, and get them forward either with a whip or spur. I depend much upon the three you mention ‡; if they remember me with kindness, I am their's by the two strongest ties, I love them, and hate their enemies.

Yet you seem to wish me other work. It is time the statesmen employ me in my own trade, not theirs. If they have nothing else for me to subdue, let me command against that rank whiggish puppet-show. Those junto pigmies, if not destroyed, will grow up to giants. Tell St. John, he must find me work in the old world or the new.

† Some words are here erased. N.

‡ Probably Harley, Harcourt, and Bolingbroke. N.

I find Mr. Harley forgets to make mention of the most important part of my letter to him; which was to let him know, that I expected immediately for one Dr. Swift, a lean bishoprick, or a fat deanery. If you happen to meet that gentleman at dinner, tell him, that he has a friend out of the way of doing him good, but that he would, if he could; whose name is

PETERBOROW.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, APRIL 19, 1711.

I HAD the favour of yours of the 10th instant, by which I understand how much I am obliged to you for the justice you did me as to the report you let me know was about to be printed in The Postboy relating to Mr. Harley.

I think there is no man in this kingdom, on which such a report could be fixed with less colour of truth, having been noted for the particular regard I have always had for him. I have suffered in some cases too, for my zeal to defend him in the worst of times; for I confess I never could, with patience, bear the treatment he met with in Gregg's affair. The truth is, when I received the news of this last barbarous attempt made on him, I with indignation insulted some with whom I used to dispute about the former case, and asked them, whether they would now

how suspect that he was in the conspiracy to stab himself? The turn they gave it was what I wrote to you, that they imagined he might be in it notwithstanding that: and that his discovering Guiscard, and pressing so hard on the examination, was the thing that provoked the man to such a degree of rage, as appeared in that villanous act. And they instanced the story of Piso in Tacitus, and the passage of Rufus. I know very well that they did not believe themselves, and among other things I applied that passage of Hudibras, he that beats out his brains, &c. * I believe I have told this passage to several as an example, to show into what absurdities the power of prejudice, malice, and faction will lead some men, I hope with good effect: and added, as several gentlemen that heard me can witness, that it was a strange thing, that Mr. Harley should discover Gregg, and have him hanged, and yet be suspected to be partaker of his crime; but altogether unacountable, that in a cause, wherein his life was so barbarously struck at, it was a thousand to one if he escaped, he should still be under the suspicion of being a party with his murderer! so that I could never imagine, that any one should report, that I spake my own sense in a matter wherein I expressed so great an abhorrence, both of the fact, and the vile comment made upon it.

As to any speech at the meeting of the clergy, or any reprimand given me by any person on this account, it is all, assure yourself, pure invention.

I am sensible of the favour you did me, in preventing the publishing of such a false report, and

* "But he that hangs, or beats out's brains,
The devil's in him, if he feigns."

am most thankful to Mr. secretary St. John for stopping it. I have not the honour to be known to him, otherwise I would give him the trouble of a particular acknowledgement. As to Mr. Harley, I have had the happiness to have some knowledge of him, and received some obligations from him, particularly on the account of my act of parliament, that I obtained for the restitution of Seatown to the see of Dublin. I always had a great honour for him, and expected great good from his known abilities, and zeal for the common interest; and as I believe he was the principal instrument of settling things on the present foot, so I believe every one, that wishes well to these kingdoms, is satisfied, that there is not any man, whose death would be a greater loss to the publick than his. The management of this parliament has, if not reconciled his worst enemies to him, at least silenced them; and it is generally believed that his misfortune has much retarded publick affairs.

I partly can guess who writ the letter you mention: it must be one of two or three, whose business it is to invent a lie, and throw dirt, ever since I was obliged by my duty to call them to account for their negligence and ill practices: they have published and dispersed several libellous prints against me, in one of which I marked forty-three downright falsehoods in matters of fact. In another, it is true, there was only one such; the whole and every part of it, from beginning to end, being pure invention and falsehood. But, to my comfort, they are despised by all good men; and I like myself nothing less for being the object of their hate. You will excuse this long letter, and I hope I may, by

next, apprise you with something of consequence. In the mean time, I heartily recommend you, &c.

WILLIAM DUBLIN.

I held my visitation on the 9th instant, where you were excused *, as absent on the publick business of the church.

TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROW.

MY LORD, MAY 4, 1711.

I HAVE had the honour of your lordship's letter, and by the first lines of it have made a discovery that your lordship is come into the world about eighteen hundred years too late, and was born about half a dozen degrees too far to the North, to employ that publick virtue I always heard you did possess: which is now wholly useless, and which those very few that have it are forced to lay aside, when they would have business succeed.

Is it not some comfort, my lord, that you meet with the same degeneracy of manners, and the same neglect of the publick, among the honest Germans, though in the philosopher's phrase, differently modified? and I hope, at least, we have one advantage, to be more polite in our corruptions than they.

Our divisions run farther than perhaps your lordship's intelligence has yet informed you of:

* For his prebend of Dunlavan; (see p. 103.)—His livings were in the diocese of Meath, N.

that

that is, a triumvirate of our friends whom I have mentioned to you: I have told them more than once, upon occasion: "That all my hopes of their success depended on their union; that I saw they loved one another, and hoped they would continue it, to remove that scandal of inconstancy ascribed to court friendships." I am not now so secure. I care not to say more on such a subject, and even this *entre nous*. My credit is not of a size to do any service on such an occasion: but as little as it is, I am so ill a politician, that I will venture the loss of it to prevent this mischief; the consequence of which I am as good a judge of as any minister of state, and perhaps a better, because I am not one.

When you writ your letter, you had not heard of Guiscard's attempt on Mr. Harley: supposing you know all the circumstances, I shall not descant upon it. We believe Mr. Harley will soon be treasurer, and be of the house of peers; and then we imagine the court will begin to deal out employments, for which every October member is a candidate; and consequently nine in ten must be disappointed; the effect of which we may find in the next session. Mr. Harley was yesterday to open to the house the ways he has thought of, to raise funds for securing the unprovided debts of the nation; and we are all impatient to know what his proposals are.

As to the imperfect account you say you have received of disagreement among ourselves, your lordship knows that the names of whig and tory have quite altered their meanings. All who were for turning out the late ministry, we now generally call tories; and in that sense, I think it plain that

there are among the tories three different interests: one, of those, I mean the ministry, who agree with your lordship and me, and in a steady management for pursuing the true interest of the nation; another is, that of warmer heads, as the October club and their adherents without doors; and a third is, I fear, of those who, as your lordship expresses it, would sound a parley, and who would make fair weather in case of a change; and some of these last are not inconsiderable.

Nothing can be more obliging than your lordship's remembering to mention me in your letters to Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, when you are in the midst of such great affairs. I doubt I shall want such an advocate as your lordship; for I believe, every man who has modesty or merit, is but an ill one for himself. I desire but the smallest of those titles you give me on the outside of your letter. My ambition is to live in England, and with a competency to support me with honour. The ministry know by this time whether I am worth keeping; and it is easier to provide for ten men in the church, than one in a civil employment.

But I renounce England and deaneries, without a promise from your lordship, under your own hand and seal, that I shall have the liberty to attend you whenever I please. I foresee we shall have a peace next year, by the same sagacity that I have often foreseen when I was young. I must leave the town in a week, because my money is gone, and I can borrow no more. Peace will bring your lordship home: and we must have you to adorn your country, when you shall be no longer wanted to defend it.

I am, my lord, &c. JON. SWIFT.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, CHELSEA, MAY 10, 1711.

I HAVE had your grace's letter, of April 19, some time by me, but deferred my answer until I could give some account of what use I had made of it. I went immediately to Mr. secretary St. John, and read most of it to him; he was extremely satisfied, and very glad that scandalous account, designed to be printed in "The *Postboy*," was suppressed. Mr. Harley was then not quite well enough; so I ventured (and I hope your grace will not disapprove it) to show your letter to a gentleman who has a great respect for your grace, and who told me several others of Ireland were possessed of that report. I trusted the letter with him, and gave him leave to read it to them, which he told me he did, and "that they were all entirely convinced:" and indeed, as far as I can find, the report is quite blown over, and has left no impression. While your grace's letter was out of my hands, dining with Mr. Harley, he said to me, almost as soon as he saw me, "How came the archbishop of Dublin and I to fall out?" I told him, "I knew what he meant; but your grace was altogether misrepresented? and it must come from some infamous rascals, of which there never wants a set in that kingdom, who make it their business to send wrong characters here," &c. He answered, "that he believed and knew it was as I said." I added, "that I had the honour to be long known to your grace, and that you were the last man in the kingdom upon whom such a report could

could be fixed with any probability; and that, since he was pleased to mention this matter first, he must give me leave, the next time I saw him, to read a letter I had from your grace in answer to one of mine, wherein I had told you of such a report." He said, "there was no need, for he firmly believed me." I answered smiling, "that should not do, for I would never suffer a person for whom I had so great an esteem, to lie under the least suspicion of any thing wrong." Last Saturday, after dinner, I was again to wait on him. On that day of the week, my lord keeper, my lord Rivers, and Mr. secretary St. John, always used to dine with him before this accident; and sometimes they used to let me be of the company. This was the first Saturday they had met since his recovery; and I was in such joy to see the old club met again, that it affects me still, as your grace sees by my impertinence in mixing it with an account that only relates to yourself. I read those parts of your letter to him which I thought proper, and both he and the company did very frankly acquit your grace; and Mr. Harley in particular spoke a good deal of his respect and esteem for you; and then he repeated, "that it was no new thing to receive lies from Ireland:" which I doubt is so true, that no man of distinction in that kingdom is safe; and I wish it were possible to take some course to prevent the evil.

As for libels upon your grace, bating my concern for the souls of the writers, I should give you joy of them. You would less deserve your station, if knaves and fools did not hate you; and while these sects

sects continue, may your grace and all good men be the object of their aversion!

My lord keeper, Mr. Harley, and one or two more, are immediately to be made peers: the town has been expecting it for some time, although the court make it yet a secret: but I can assure your grace of the truth, for the preambles to their patents are now drawing, and I saw a very handsome one for Mr. Harley *. You'll please not to mention this particular, although it will be soon publick, but it is yet kept mighty private. Mr. Harley is to be lord treasurer. Perhaps before the post leaves this town, all this will be openly told, and then I may be laughed at for being so mysterious: but so capricious are great men in their secrets. The first authentick assurances I had of these promotions was last Sunday; though the expectation has been strong for above a month. We suppose likewise that many changes will be made in the employments as soon as the session ends, which will be, I believe, in less than a fortnight.

Poor sir Cholmondeley Deering, of Kent, was yesterday in a duel shot through the body, by one Mr. Thornhill, in Tothilfields, and died in some hours.

I never mention any thing of the first-fruits either to Mr. Harley or the duke of Ormond. If it be done before his grace goes over, it is well, and there's an end: if not, I shall have the best opportunity of doing it in his absence. If I should speak of it now, perhaps it would be so contrived as to hinder me from soliciting it afterward: but as soon

* It was written by himself. See it in vol. III. N.

as

as the duke is gone, I shall learn at the treasury what he has done in it. I have been at this town this fortnight for my health, and to be under a necessity of walking to and from London every day. But your grace will please still to direct your letters under cover to Mr. Lewis.

I am, with great respect, my lord,
Your grace's most dutiful
and obliged humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

TO MR. SECRETARY ST. JOHN.

SIR, CHELSEA, MAY 11, 1711.

BEING convinced, by certain ominous prognosticks, that my life is too short to permit me the honour of ever dining another Saturday with *sir Simon Harcourt*, knight, or *Robert Harley, esq.* I beg I may take the last farewell of those two gentlemen to-morrow. I made this request on Saturday last, unfortunately after you were gone; and they, like great statesmen, pretended they could do nothing in it without your consent; particularly my lord keeper, as a lawyer, raised innumerable difficulties, although I submitted to allow you an hour's whispering before dinner, and an hour after. My lord Rivers would not offer one word in my behalf, pretending he himself was but a tolerated person. The keeper alleged, "You could do nothing but when all three were capitularly met," as if you could

could never open but like a parish chest, with the three keys together. It grieves me to see the present ministry thus confederated to pull down my great spirit. Pray, sir, find an expedient. Finding expedients is the business of secretaries of state. I will yield to any reasonable conditions not below my dignity. I will not find fault with the victuals; I will restore the waterglass that I stole, and solicit for my lord keeper's salary. And, sir, to show you I am not a person to be safely injured, if you dare refuse me justice in this point, I will appear before you in a pudding sleeve gown, I will disparage your snuff, write a lampoon upon Nably Car, dine with you upon a foreign postday; nay, I will read verses in your presence, until you snatch them out of my hands. Therefore pray, sir, take pity upon me and yourself; and believe me to be, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, MAY 15, 1711.

I HAD the favour of yours of the 10th instant, by the last packet, and cannot return you sufficient acknowledgment for your kind and prudent management of that affair so much to my advantage. I confess that I did not much fear that such a vile report would do me any great injury with Mr. Harley; for I was persuaded he is too wise to believe such

such an incredible story. But the publishing it to the world might have influenced some to my disadvantage; and no man can be well pleased to be the subject of a libel, though it often happens to be the fate of honest men.

I doubt not but you will hear of an unlucky contest in the city of Dublin about their mayor. You may remember (I think while you were here, that is, in 1709) alderman Constantine, by a cabal, for so I must call it, lost his election; and a junior alderman, one Forrest, was elected mayor for the ensuing year. Constantine petitioned the council board not to approve the election; for you must know, by the new rules, settled in pursuance of an act of parliament for the better regulation of corporations, their chief officers must be approved of by the governor and council after they are elected, before they can enter into any of their respective offices; and if not approved of in ten days, the corporation that chose them must go to a new election. Now, alderman Constantine, upon the corporation's return of Forrest, complained of it as wrong, and desired to be heard by council; but my lord Wharton, then lord lieutenant, would not admit it. This past on to the year 1710, and then the present mayor was chosen, alderman Eccles, another junior alderman; and this year one alderman Barlow, a tailor, another junior. Constantine, finding the government altered, supposed he should have more favour, and petitions again of the wrong done him. The city replied, and we had two long hearings. The matter depended on an old by-law, made about the 12th of queen Elizabeth; by which the aldermen, according to their ancientry, are required to keep their

their mayoralty, notwithstanding any licenses or orders to the contrary. Several dispensations and instances of contrary practices were produced; but with a salvo, that the law of succession should stand good: and some aldermen, as appeared, had been disfranchised for not submitting to it, and holding in their mayoralty. On the contrary, it was urged, that this rule was made in a time when the mayoralty was looked upon as a great burden, and the senior aldermen got licenses from serving it, and by faction and interest got it put on the junior and poorer; and most of the aldermen were then papists, and being obliged, on accepting the office, to take the oath of supremacy, and come to church, they declined it: but the case was now altered, and most were ambitious of it; and a rule or by-law, that imposed it as a duty and burden, must be understood to oblige them to take it, but could not oblige the electors to put it on them; that it was often dispensed with, and, as alleged, altogether abrogated by the new rules, that took the election out of the city, where the charter places it, and gave it to the aldermen only: that since those rules, which were made in 1672, the elections have been in another manner, and in about 36 mayors, eight or nine were junior aldermen. On the whole, the matter seemed to me to hang on a most slender point; and being archbishop of Dublin, I thought I was obliged to be for the city; but the majority was for the by-law, and disapproved alderman Barlow, who was returned for mayor. I did foresee that this would beget ill blood, and did not think it for my lord duke of Ormond's interest to clash with the city; and I went to several of his grace's friends,

friends, whom I much trust, before the debate in council, and desired them to consider the matter, and laid the inconveniency I apprehended before them, and desired them to take notice, that I had warned them; but they told me, that they did not foresee any hurt it would be to his grace. And I pray God it may not; though I am afraid it may give him some trouble.

The citizens have taken it heinously; and, as I hear, met to-day, and in common council repealed the by-law, and have chosen alderman Barlow again. I think them wrong in both, and a declaration of enmity against the council and government, which feud is easier begun than laid. It is certain the council must disapprove their choice, it being against the new rules, as well as good manners; and what other steps will be made to correct them, I cannot say; whereas, if they had appointed a committee to view and report what old obsolete by-laws were become inconvenient, and repealed this among the rest, it would not have given offence; and if they had chosen another instead of Barlow, I believe he would have been approved, and there had been an end of the contest.

You must know this is made a party affair, as Constantine sets up for a high churchman, which I never heard he did before: but this is an inconveniency in parties, that whoever has a private quarrel, and finds himself too weak, he immediately becomes a zealous partizan, and makes his private a publick quarrel.

Perhaps it may not be ungrateful, nor perhaps altogether useless to you, to know the truth of this matter; for I imagine it will be talked of.

I believe

I believe the generality of the citizens and gentlemen of Ireland are looked on as friends to the whiggish interest. But it is only so far as to keep out the pretender, whom they mortally fear with good reason; and so many villanous papers have been spread here, and so much pains taken to persuade them that the tories design to bring him in, that it is no wonder they are afraid of them; but God be thanked, this ministry and parliament has pretty well allayed that fear, by their steady and prudent management. And if his grace the duke of Ormond prosecutes the same measures the ministry does in Britain (as I believe he will), I persuade myself, that the generality here will be as zealous for this as any ministry we ever had.

The death of the earl of Rochester is a great blow to all good men, and even his enemies cannot but do justice to his character. What influence it will have on publick affairs, God only knows. I pray let me have your thoughts on it, for I have some fears, that I do not find affect other people; I was of opinion, that he contributed much to keep things steady; and I wish his friends may not want his influence. I conclude with my prayers for you.

WILL. DUBLIN.

FROM LORD PETERBOROW.

SIR, HANOVER, JUNE 21, 1711.

YOU were returning me to ages past for some expressions in my letter. I find matter in your's to send you as far back as the golden age. How came you to frame a system (in the times we live in) to govern the world by love?

I was much more surprised at such a notion in your first, than to find your opinion altered in your last letter. My hopes were founded more reasonably upon the contrary principle. I wish we could keep ourselves steady by any; but I confess it was the hatred and contempt so justly conceived against our late governors, that gave me some little expectations we might unite, at least in order to prevent a relapse.

The consequences of places not given were apparent; the whole party were then dissatisfied; and when given, those are only pleased who have them. This is what the honest management of past administrations has brought us to: but I should not yet despair, if your loving principle could but have its force among three or four of your acquaintance. Never persons had more reason to agree; nor was it ever in the power of a few men to bring greater events to bear, or prevent greater inconveniencies; for such are inevitable, without the nicest management: and I believe no person was ever better prepared to make this out than myself.

I wish before I left England, that I had met, either in your letters or discourse, any thing like

what you hint in your last: I should have found great ease, and you, some satisfaction; for, had you passed these six months with me abroad, I could have made you sensible, that it were easy to have brought the character and influence of an English peer, equal to that of a senator in old Rome. Methinks I could have brought it to that pass, to have seen a levee of suppliant kings and princes, expecting their destinies from us, and submitting to our decrees; but if we come in politicks to your necessity of leaving the town for want of money to live in it, Lord, how the case will alter!

You threaten me with law, and tell me I might be compelled to make my words good. Remember your own insinuations: what if I should leave England in a week's time, and summon you in quality of chaplain and secretary, to be a witness to transactions perhaps of the greatest importance; so great, that I should think you might deserve the bishoprick of Winchester at your return. Let me know, in a letter directed to Parson's-green, the moment you receive this, whether you are ready and willing; but you must learn to live a month, now and then, without sleep. As to all other things, we should meet with no mortifications abroad, if we could scape them from home.

But, without raillery, if ever I can propose to myself to be of any great use, I foresee this will be the case. This is so much my opinion, that I conclude, if it falls out otherwise, I shall never concern myself in any publick business in England; that I shall either leave it for a better climate, or marry in a rage, and become the hero of the October club. Yours, &c.

PETERBOROW.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, JULY 12, 1711.

I NOW conceive your grace begins to be a busy person in council, and parliament, and convocation; and perhaps may be content to be diverted now and then by an idle letter from hence. We have an empty town, the queen being settled at Windsor, and the ministers often there. We are so weary with expecting farther removals, that we begin to drop the discourse; neither am I sure, whether those in power may not differ a little in opinion as to the matter. However, it seems generally agreed, that there will be many changes before next session, and that it is necessary there should be so. My lord Peterborow has been some time returned, and I have had a good deal of talk with him; or rather he has talked a good deal to me. He is mightily discontented with what I writ to him, and which he finds to be true, that there seems a general disposition among us towards a peace. He thinks his successful negotiations with the emperor and the duke of Savoy, have put us in a better condition than ever to continue the war, and will engage to convince me, that Spain is yet to be had, if we take proper measures. Your grace knows he is a person of great talents, but dashed with something restless and capricious in his nature. He told me he came over without being recalled, and without one servant, having scattered them in several parts of Germany. I doubt he will not have credit enough with the ministry to make them follow his

plans; and he is such a sort of person as may give good advice, which wise men may reasonably refuse to follow. It seems to me that the ministry lie under a grievous dilemma, from the difficulty of continuing the war, and the danger of an ill peace; which I doubt whether all their credit with the queen and country would support them under: but my lord treasurer is a stranger to fear, and has all that courage which innocence and good sense can give a man, and the most free from avarice of any one living; both which are absolutely necessary for his station in this juncture. He was saying a thing to me some days ago, which I believe is the great maxim he proceeds by, that wisdom in public affairs was not, what is commonly believed, the forming of schemes with remote views; but the making use of such incidents as happen. It was thought my lord Mar* would have succeeded as secretary upon the duke of Queensberry's death†;

* John Erskine, the 10th earl of Mar, was by queen Anne made colonel of a regiment of foot, knight of the thistle, and secretary of state for Scotland. He was one of the commissioners for the treaty of Union, and was elected one of the sixteen peers in four succeeding parliaments. He was again made secretary of state, Sept. 1, 1713; in which office he was succeeded by the duke of Montrose, Sept. 24, 1714. Being dismissed from all employment, he retired into Scotland; and at the head of six hundred men, proclaimed the pretender. His forces being increased to six or seven thousand men, he fought the duke of Argyll, who commanded the royal troops. The victory was left undecided; but the earl of Mar was forced to take refuge in France. He was attainted in 1716, his estate and honours, &c. being forfeited to the crown; and died at Aix la Chapelle in 1732. N.

† James Douglas, duke of Queensberry, secretary of state for the business of Scotland, and created duke of Dover, May 26, 1708. N.

but

but the court seems now disposed to have no third secretary *, which was a useless charge. The queen has been extremely ill, so as for four and twenty hours people were in great pain; but she has been since much better, and voided abundance of gravel, &c.

Our expedition under Mr. Hill is said to be toward the South Seas; but nothing is known: I told a great man, who is deepest in the project of it, that I had no good opinion of these expeditions, which hitherto never succeeded with us. He said, he would venture ten to one upon the success of it, provided no ill accident happened by storms; and that it was concerted with three or four great princes abroad.

As to the first fruits, I must inform your grace, that the whole affair lies exactly as it did for some months past. The duke and his people never thought, or at least never meddled in it, until some days before they went, and then they were told it was already done; and my lord treasurer directed that it should be an instruction to the lord lieutenant to mention in his speech to parliament, that the queen had done it, &c. But they took no sort of care to finish the matter, and carry the instrument over with them, which they might have done, had they begun timely, and applied themselves; and as the bishops superseded me, I did not presume to meddle farther in it: but I think this may be a lesson, that in all such cases as these, it is necessary to have some good solicitor, and not leave things wholly to great men: nay, so little did the

* There seems to have been none till Sept. 1, 1713. N.

duke

duke engage in this matter, that my lord treasurer told me yesterday (although that is a secret) that the very draught they had made upon my application was some way or other mislaid between the queen and himself, and could not be found; but however, that another should soon be drawn: and his lordship commanded me to inform your grace, and my lords the bishops, that with the first convenience the instrument should be prepared and sent over, which your grace will please to let them know. I was of opinion with my lord treasurer, that it should be done by a deed from the queen, without an act of parliament, and that the bishops should be made a corporation, for the management of it. Your grace sees I write with much freedom, because I am sure I can do it safely.

I have been engaging my lord treasurer and the other great men in a project of my own, which they tell me they will embrace, especially his lordship. He is to erect some kind of society, or academy, under the patronage of the ministers, and protection of the queen, for correcting, enlarging, polishing, and fixing our language. The methods must be left to the society; only I am writing a letter to my lord treasurer, by way of proposals, and some general hints, which I design to publish, and he expects from me. All this may come to nothing, although I find the ingenious and learned men of all my acquaintance fall readily in with it; and so I hope will your grace if the design can be well executed. I would desire at leisure some of your grace's thoughts on this matter.

I hope your grace will take advantage of the times, and see whether your violent house of commons

mons will fall in with some good law for the benefit of the church, as their much betters have done it here: and I think the convocation could not be better employed, than in considering what good law is wanting for the church, and endeavour to have it passed, rather than in brangling upon trifles. The church has so few happy occasions, that we ought to let none of them slip. I take up too much of your grace's time; and therefore, begging your prayers and blessings, I remain, with the greatest respect,

Your grace's most dutiful humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, JULY 25, 1711.

YOU must not wonder, that I have been so ill a correspondent of late, being, as I find, in debt to you for your's of June the 8th, and July the 12th. This did not proceed from any negligence, but from the circumstances of things here, that were such, that I could not return you any satisfactory answer.

We have now got over the preliminaries of our parliaments and convocation; that is to say, our addresses, &c. and as to the parliament, so far as appears to me, there will be an entire compliance with her majesty's occasions, and my lord duke of Ormond's desire; and that funds will be given for

for two years from Christmas next; by which we shall have the following summer free from parliamentary attendance, which proves a great obstruction both to church and country business. As to the convocation, we have no license as yet to act. I have heard some whispers, as if a letter of license had come over, and was sent back again to be mended, especially as to direction about a president. I may inform you, that that matter is in her majesty's choice: we have on record four licenses; the first directed to the archbishop of Dublin in 1614; the other three, in 1634, 1662, 1665, directed to the then lords primates. I have not at present the exact dates; but I have seen the writs, and find the convocation sat in these years.

His grace the duke of Ormond, in his speech to the parliament (which I doubt not but you have seen) mentioned the remittal of the twentieth parts, and the grant of the first-fruits, for buying impropriations; but did not assume to himself any merit in the procuring of them; nor, that I can find by any intimation, so much as insinuated, that the grant was on his motion; notwithstanding, both in the house of lords and convocation, some laboured to ascribe the whole to his grace; and had it not been for the account I had from you, his grace must, next to her majesty, have had the entire thanks. You'll observe, from the lords address and convocation, that his grace is brought in for a share in both. But if the case should be otherwise, yet his grace is no way to be blamed. The current runs that way; and perhaps neither you nor I have bettered our interest here at present, by endeavouring to stop it.

The

The conclusion was that all the archbishops and bishops agreed to return thanks to my lord treasurer of Great Britain, by a letter, which all in town have signed, being convinced, that, next to her majesty's native bounty, and zeal for the church, this favour is due to his lordship's mediation.

But they have employed no agent to solicit the passing the act through the offices, believing his lordship will take care of that of his own mere motion, as he did of the grant. This is meant as an instance of their great confidence in his lordship's concern for them, which makes it needless that any should intermeddle in what he has undertaken.

If his lordship thinks fit to return any answer to the bishops, I wish he would take some occasion to mention you in it; for that would justify you, and convince the bishops, some of whom, perhaps, suspect the truth of what you said of the first-fruits and twentieth parts being granted before his grace the duke of Ormond was declared lord lieutenant of Ireland.

I cannot at present write of several matters, that perhaps I may have opportunity to communicate to you. I have sent with this the lords and the convocation's address to my lord duke.

If it may be proper, I would have my most humble respects to be laid before my lord treasurer. You may be sure I am his most humble servant, and shall never forget the advantages he has been the author of to the church and state: and yet I believe, if it pleased God to prolong his life, greater things may be expected from him; my prayers shall not be wanting.

As

As for myself, I will say more some other time: and for the present shall only assure you, that I am, sir,

Your affectionate humble servant and brother,

WILLIAM DUBLIN.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

LISSENHALL, JULY 28, 1711.

SINCE my lord duke of Ormond's arrival, I have been so continually hurried with company, that I retired here for two or three days. The preliminaries of our parliament are now over; that is to say, addresses, &c. and I find the usual funds will be granted, I think unanimously for two years from Christmas next, which is all the duke of Ormond desires. I do not see much more will be done. You will observe several reflections are in the addresses on the late management here, in which the earl of Anglesey and I differed. If we could impeach, as you can in Great Britain, and bring the malefactors to account, I should be for it with all my endeavour; but to show our ill will, when we can do no more, seems to be no good policy in a dependant people, and that can have no other effect than to provoke revenge without the prospect of redress; of which we have too fatal instances. I reckon, that every chief governor who is sent here, comes with a design to serve first those who sent him; and that our good only must be so far considered,

considered, as it is subservient to the main design. The only difference between governors, as to us, is to have a good-natured man, that has some interest in our prosperity, and will not oppress us unnecessarily; and such is his grace. But I doubt, whether even that will not be an objection against him on your side of the water: for I have found, that those governors, that gained most on the liberties of the kingdom, are reckoned the best; and therefore it concerns us to be on our guard against all governors, and to provoke as little as we can. For he, that cannot revenge himself, acts the wise part, when he dissembles, and passes over injuries.

In my opinion, the best that has happened to us, is, that the parliament grants the funds for two years; for by these means we shall have one summer to ourselves to do our church and country business. I have not been able to visit my diocese *ecclesiatim*, as I used to do, the last three years, for want of such a recess. I hope the parliament of Great Britain will not resume the yarn bill while they continue the same. The lords have not sat above four or five days, and are adjourned till Monday next; so we have no heads of bills brought into our house as yet: but if any be relating to the church, I will do my endeavour to give you satisfaction.

Our letter is come over for the remittal of the twentieth parts, and granting the first-fruits for buying impropriations, and purchasing glebes, which will be a great ease to the clergy, and a benefit to the church. We want glebes more than the impropriations; and I am for buying them first, where wanting; for without them, residence is impossible:

impossible: and besides, I look upon it as a security to tithes, that the laity have a share in them; and therefore I am not for purchasing them, but where they are absolutely necessary.

We shall, I believe, have some considerations of methods to convert the natives; but I do not find, that it is desired by all, that they should be converted. There is a party among us, that have little sense of religion, and heartily hate the church: these would have the natives made protestants; but such as themselves are deadly afraid they should come into the church, because, say they, this would strengthen the church too much. Others would have them come in, but can't approve of the methods proposed, which are to preach to them in their own language, and have the service in Irish, as our own canons require. So that between them, I am afraid that little will be done.

I am, sir, Yours, &c.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, AUG. 15, 1711.

I HAVE been at Windsor a fortnight, from whence I returned two days ago, and met a letter at my lodgings from your grace, dated July 25. I was told it was sent to Mr. Manly's house (your postmaster's son) and by him to me: so that I suppose your grace did not direct to Mr. Lewis as formerly, otherwise I should have had it at Windsor. The ministers go usually down to Windsor on Saturday, and

and return on Monday or Tuesday following. I had little opportunity of talking with my lord treasurer, seeing him only at court, or at supper at third places, or in much company at his own lodgings. Yesterday I went to visit him after dinner, but did not stay above an hour, because business called him out. I read to him that part of your grace's letter which expresses your grace's respects to him, and he received them perfectly well. He told me, "he had lately received a letter from the bishops of Ireland, subscribed (as I remember) by seventeen, acknowledging his favour about the first-fruits." I told his lordship, "that some people in Ireland doubted whether the queen had granted them before the duke of Ormond was declared lieutenant." "Yes," he said, "sure I remembered it was immediately upon my application." I said, "I heard the duke himself took no merit on that account." He answered, "No, he was sure he did not, he was the honestest gentleman alive: but," said he, "it is the queen that did it, and she alone shall have the merit."

And I must be so free as to tell your grace that the grudging, ungrateful manner of some people, which upon several occasions I could not but give him hints of for my justification, has not been prudent. I am sure it has hindered me from any thoughts of pursuing another affair of yet greater consequence, which I had good hopes of compassing. What can be the matter with those people? do I ask either money or thanks of them? have I done any hurt to the business? My lord treasurer told me he had sent the letter over about the first-fruits. I never inquired into the particulars: he says he will

will very soon answer the bishops' letter to himself, and will show me both letter and answer: but I shall not put him in mind unless he remembers it of his own accord. Nor, with great submission to your grace, can I prevail on my own pride to desire he would make any mention of me in his answer. Your grace is convinced, that unless I write a heap of lies, the queen had granted that affair before my lord duke was named. I desire to convince nobody else; and, since the thing is done, it is not of any consequence who were instrumental in it. I could not forbear yesterday reminding my lord treasurer of what I said to Mr. Southwell before his lordship, when he came to take his leave before he went to Ireland; which was, that I hoped Mr. Southwell would let the bishops and clergy of Ireland know, that my lord treasurer had long since (before the duke was governor) prevailed on the queen to remit the first-fruits, &c. and that it was his lordship's work, as the grant of the same favour in England had formerly been. My lord treasurer did then acknowledge it before Mr. Southwell, and I think Mr. Southwell should have acted accordingly; but there is a great deal of ignorance, as well as ill will, in all this matter. The duke of Ormond himself, had he engaged in it, could only act as a solicitor. Every body knows, that the lord treasurer, in such cases, must be applied to (and only he) by the greatest persons. I should think the people of Ireland might rather be pleased to see one of their own country able to find some credit at court, and in a capacity to serve them, especially one who does it without any other prospect than that of serving them. I know not any of the bishops from whom I can expect

expect any favour, and there are not many upon whom a man of any figure could have such designs: but I will be revenged; for whenever it lies in my power, I will serve the church and kingdom, although they should use me much worse. I shall dine to-morrow with the lord treasurer, and perhaps I may then see the answer he is to write. I thought to have sent this letter away to-night; but I have been interrupted by business. I go to Windsor again on Saturday for a day or two, but I will leave this behind to be sent to the post.

August 21. I had wrote thus far, and was forced to leave off, being hurried away to Windsor by my lord treasurer, from whence I returned but last night. His lordship gave me a paper, which he said he had promised me. I put it in my pocket, thinking it was about something else we had been talking over; and I never looked into it until just now, when I find it to be my lord primate's letter to his lordship, with an enclosed one from the bishops. With submission, I take it to be dry enough, although I shall not tell his lordship so. They say, "they are informed his lordship had a great part in, &c." I think they should either have told who it was informed them so, since it was a person commissioned by themselves; or, at least, have said they were assured. And as for those words, a great part, I know nobody else had any, except the queen herself. I cannot tell whether my lord has writ an answer, having said nothing to him of it since he gave me the letters; nor shall I desire to see it.

As to the convocation, I remember both my lord treasurer and Mr. St. John spoke to me about

about the matter, and were of the same opinion with your grace, that it was wholly in the queen's choice. I excused giving my opinion, being wholly uninformed; and I have heard nothing of it since.

My lord keeper gave me yesterday a bundle of Irish votes at Windsor, and we talked a good deal about the quarrels between the lords and commons: I said the fault lay in not dissolving the parliament; which I had mentioned to the duke of Ormond, and often to some of those who were thought to have most credit with him. But they seemed to believe, as I did, that any Irish parliament would yield to any thing that any chief governor pleased, and so it would be a needless trouble.

We reckon for certain, that Mr. Hill with his fleet is gone to Quebec.

Mrs. Masham is every minute expecting to lie in. Pray God preserve her life, which is of great importance. I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,

Your grace's

Most dutiful and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

The queen has got a light fit of the gout. The privy seal is not yet disposed of.

TO THE SAME.

MY LORD, AUGUST 26, 1711.

PERHAPS you will be content to know some circumstances of affairs here *. The duke of Somerset usually leaves Windsor on Saturday, when the ministers go down thither, and returns not until they are gone. On Saturday sevennight, contrary to custom, he was at Windsor, and a cabinet council was to be held at night; but, after waiting a long time, word was brought out, that there would be no cabinet. Next day it was held, and then the duke went to a horse-race about three miles off. This began to be whispered; and at my return to town they had got it in the city; but not the reason; which was, that Mr. secretary St. John refused to sit if the duke was there. Last Sunday the duke was there again, but did not offer to come to the cabinet, which was held without him. I hear the duke was advised by his friends of the other party to take this step. The secretary said to some of his acquaintance, that he would not sit with a man who had so often betrayed them, *&c.* You know the duchess of Somerset is a great favourite, and has got the duchess of Marlborough's key. She is insinuating, and a woman of intrigue; and will, I believe, do what ill offices she can to the secretary. They would have hindered her coming in; but the queen said, "if it were so that she could not have what servants she liked, she did not find how her

* See Journal to Stella, August 13, 1711. N.

condition was mended." I take the safety of the present ministry to consist in the agreement of three great men, lord keeper, lord treasurer, and Mr. secretary; and so I have often told them together between jest and earnest, and two of them separately with more seriousness. And I think they entirely love one another, as their differences are not of weight to break their union. They vary a little about their notions of a certain general *. I will not say more at this distance. I do not see well how they can be without the secretary, who has very great abilities both for the cabinet and parliament. The tories in the city are a little discontented, that no farther changes are made in employments, of which I cannot learn the secret, although I have heard several, and from such who might tell the true one if they would: one is, that lord treasurer professes he is at a loss to find persons qualified for several places: another (which is less believed), that the queen interposes: a third, that it is a trimming disposition. I am apt to think that he finds the call for employments greater than he can answer, if there were five times as many to dispose of; and I know particularly that he dislikes very much the notion of people, that every one is to be turned out. The treasurer is much the greatest minister I ever knew; regular in life, with a true sense of religion, an excellent scholar, and a good divine, of a very mild and affable disposition, intrepid in his notions, and indefatigable in business, an utter despiser of money for himself, yet frugal (perhaps to an extremity) for the publick. In

* The duke of Marlborough. N.

private

private company, he is wholly disengaged, and very facetious, like one who has no business at all. He never wants a reserve upon any emergency, which would appear desperate to others; and makes little use of those thousand projectors and schematists, who are daily plying him with their visions, but to be thoroughly convinced, by the comparison, that his own notions are the best.

I am, my lord, with the greatest respect,
Your grace's most obedient, &c.
JON. SWIFT.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, SWORDS, SEPT. 1, 1711.

I HAVE before me your's of the 15th and 21st, for which I return you my hearty thanks. I perceive you have the votes of our commons here, and I suppose the address of the lords, that gave occasion to them. I must let you know that I was very positive against the clause that provoked them, and kept the house in debate about it at least an hour, and spoke so often, that I was ashamed of myself; yet there were but three negatives to it. I used several arguments against the lords concurring with their committee, and foretold all that has happened upon it. Upon which I was much out of favour with the house for some time; and industry has been used, as I was informed, to persuade my lord duke, that what I did was in opposition to his

interest: but when I had the opportunity to discourse his grace last, he was of another opinion. And in truth, my regard to his grace's interest was the principal reason of opposing a clause, that I foresaw might embarrass his business here.

There happened another affair relating to one Langton *, of whom I formerly gave you some account. The commons found him on the establishment for a small pension; and having an ill notion of him and his informations, they took this occasion to examine his merits. In order to which, they sent up a message to the lords, to desire leave of judge Coste, who had taken his examinations, and those of his witnesses, to come down, and inform the committee: and this seemed the more necessary, because the examinations taken by the council were burned: but the lords refused to let the judge go down, as desired, and passed a vote to take the examination of the matter into their hands. This, I foresaw, might prove another bone of contention, and did oppose it, but with the same success as the former. Langton pleaded privilege, as chaplain to the bishop of Ossory, and refused to appear before the commons: on which they passed the angry resolves you will find in their votes. The examination of this matter has employed much of the lords' time to very little purpose. My opposing this was made an objection against me by some, that wish now my advice had been taken.

The business of the city of Dublin, of which I gave you an account formerly, embroils us very much. We have at the council rejected four mayors and eight sheriffs, all regularly elected by

* See p. 152. N.

the

the city; some of them the best citizens in the town, and much in the interest of the government. We begin to be sick of it, and I am afraid, that it may beget ill blood, and come into parliament here. We have rejected the elected magistrates in four other corporations, which adds to the noise. I own there were good reasons for rejecting some of them: but I cannot say the same for Dublin. I wish this may not prove uneasy to us.

There was a motion made at the session for the county of Dublin at Kilmainham, for an address of thanks to her majesty for sending his grace the duke of Ormond to be our chief governor. Nine of the justices, that is, all that were then present, agreed to it, and an address was ordered to be drawn, which was brought next morning into court, and then there were above a score, that seemed to have come on purpose, and promised, that it should be rejected by a majority; for this reason only, that it would entail a necessity on them to address in favour of every new lord lieutenant, or disoblige him. For which reason it was rejected also in my lord Wharton's time. This noways concerns his grace himself: but in my opinion, ought to lessen the esteem of some persons' management, that attempt things, which would be better let alone, where they cannot be carried without opposition.

The house of commons seem to have received ill impressions of some. They reckon my lord duke's advisers, as if they were secretly his enemies, and designed to betray him. They generally seem persuaded, that his grace is a sincere honest man, and most in the interest of the kingdom of any chief governor they can ever expect; and that therefore they

they ought to support him to the utmost of their power, and declare, that the quarrels his enemies raise, shall not hinder them from doing whatever he shall reasonably desire from them, or her majesty's service require; and as an instance of their sincerity in this, they have granted funds for two years from Christmas last; whereas at first they intended only two years from the preceding 24th of June.

I have been preaching a doctrine that seems strange to some: it is, that her majesty, and the ministry, will be inclined to employ such as may be a help and support to their interest, and not a clog. I mean, that these subalterns should, by their prudence and dexterity, be able to remove any misunderstandings, that may be between the government and the people, and help to beget in them a good notion of the ministry; and by all means, avoid such things as may embarrass or beget jealousies; so that the burden or odium may not fall on the ministry, where any harsh things happen to be done: that it seems to me to be the duty of those in posts, to avoid unnecessary disputes, and not to expect that the ministry will interpose to extricate them, when they, without necessity, have involved themselves. But some are of a different opinion, and seem to think, that they have no more to do when they meet with difficulties, perhaps of their own creating, than to call in the ministry, and desire them to decide the matter by power: a method that I do not approve, nor has it succeeded well with former governors here: witness lord Sydney, and lord Wharton, in the case of the convocation.

There

There really needs but one thing to quiet the people of Ireland, and it is to convince them, that there is no eye to the pretender. Great industry has been, and still is, used to bugbear them with that fear. I believe it is over with you; but it will require time and prudent methods to quiet the people here, that have been possessed for twenty-two years with a continual apprehension, that he is at the door, and that a certain kind of people designed to bring him in. The circumstances of this kingdom, from what they saw and felt under king James, make the dread of him much greater than it can be with you.

As to our convocation, a letter came from her majesty to give us license to act; but it nowise pleased some people, and so it was sent back to be modelled to their mind, but returned again without alteration. It came not to us till the day the parliament adjourned. I was at that time obliged to attend the council, there being a hearing of the quakers against a bill for recovering tithes. In my absence they adjourned till the meeting of the parliament, without so much as voting thanks, or appointing a committee. The things that displeased some in the license were, first, that my lord primate was not the sole president, so as to appoint whom he pleased to act in his absence. The second was, the consideration of proper methods to convert the natives, against which some have set themselves with all their might. The third is, what concerns pluralities, and residence, which some have not patience to hear of. The lower house seem to have the matter more at heart; for they have appointed

pointed committees during the recess, and are doing something.

I cannot but admire, that you should be at a loss to find what is the matter with those, that would neither allow you, nor any one else, to get any thing for the service of the church, or the publick. It is, with submission, the silliest query I ever found made by Dr. Swift. You know there are some, that would assume to themselves to be the only churchmen and managers, and cannot endure that any thing should be done but by themselves, and in their own way; and had rather that all good things proposed should miscarry, than be thought to come from other hands than their own; whose business is to lessen every body else, and obstruct whatever is attempted, though of the greatest advantage to church and state, if it be not from their own party. And yet, so far as I have hitherto observed, I do not remember an instance of their proposing, much less prosecuting with success, any thing for the publick good. They seem to have a much better hand at obstructing others, and embarrassing affairs, than at proposing or prosecuting any good design.

These seem as uneasy that more alterations are not made here, as those you mention are with you. The reason is very plain, they would fain get into employments, which cannot be without removes; but I have often observed, that none are more eager for posts, than such as are least fit for them. I do not see how a new parliament would much mend things here; for there is little choice of men: perhaps it might be for the worse, *rebus sic stantibus*; though

though I always thought the honest part, is to allow the people to speak their sense on the change of affairs by new representatives. I do not find, that those that have embarrassed the present, designed a new one; but they thought the commons so passive, that they might carry what they pleased, whatever their design might be. If they prosecute the present measures, I believe they will make new ones necessary, when there shall be occasion to have a new session.

I pray most heartily for her majesty, and her ministers; and am inclined to believe, that it is one of the most difficult parts of their present circumstances, to find proper instruments to execute their good intentions, notwithstanding the great crowds that offer themselves; particularly, my lord treasurer's welfare is at heart with all good men: I am sure, with none more than,

Reverend sir, &c.

WILL. DUBLIN.

FROM THE SAME.

REVEREND SIR, SWORDS, SEPT. 1, 1711.

I GOT a little retirement here, and made use of it, to write you by the present packet *. I promised to say something as to your own affairs; and the first thing is, not to neglect yourself on this occasion, but to make use of the favour and interest

* This is the same date as that of the preceding. N.

you

you have at present to procure you some preferment that may be called a settlement. Years come on, and after a certain age, if a man be not in a station that may be a step to a better, he seldom goes higher. It is with men as with beauties, if they pass the flower, they grow stale, and lie for ever neglected. I know you are not ambitious; but it is prudence, not ambition, to get into a station, that may make a man easy, and prevent contempt when he grows in years. You certainly may now have an opportunity to provide for yourself, and I entreat you not to neglect it.

The second thing that I would desire you to consider is, that God has given you parts and learning, and a happy turn of mind; and that you are answerable for those talents to God: and therefore I advise you, and believe it to be your duty, to set yourself to some serious and useful subject in your profession, and to manage it so, that it may be of use to the world. I am persuaded that if you will apply yourself this way, you are well able to do it; and that your knowledge of the world, and reading, will enable you to furnish such a piece, with such uncommon remarks, as will render it both profitable and agreeable, above most things that pass the press. Say not, that most subjects in divinity are exhausted; for, if you look into Dr. Wilkins's Heads of Matters, which you will find in his "Gift of Preaching," you will be surprised to find so many necessary and useful heads, that no authors have meddled with. There are some common themes, that have employed multitudes of authors: but the most curious and difficult are in a manner untouched, and a good genius will not fail to produce

something new and surprising on the most trite, much more on those that others have avoided, merely because they were above their parts.

Assure yourself, that your interest, as well as duty, requires this from you; and you will find, that it will answer some objections against you, if you thus show the world that you have patience and comprehension of thought, to go through with such a subject of weight and learning.

You will pardon me this freedom, which I assure you proceeds from a sincere kindness, and true value that I have for you. I will add no more, but my hearty prayers for you.

I am, Dr. Swift, your's,

WILL. DUBLIN.

TO DR. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH.

SIR, SEPT. 1, 1711.

I CONGRATULATE with the college, the university, and the kingdom, and condole with myself, upon your new dignity*. The virtue I would affect by putting my own interests out of the case, has failed me in this juncture. I only consider that I shall want your conversation, your friendship, your protection, and your good offices, when I can

* The deanery of Christ Church, to which Dr. Atterbury was promoted from that of Carlisle. N.

least

least spare them *. I would have come among the crowd of those who make you compliments on this occasion, if I could have brought a cheerful

* As the intimacy between these two great men had not then been of long standing, it may be amusing to trace its rise and progress. About four months before the date of this letter, Swift had taken lodgings at Chelsea. "I got here," says he, "with Patrick and my portmantua, for six-pence; and pay six shillings a week for one silly room, with confounded coarse sheets. I lodge just over against Dr. Atterbury's house; and yet perhaps I shall not like the place the better for that." Journal to Stella, April 26, 1711.—"Mr. Harley excused his coming, and Atterbury was not there [at the Westminster dinner]; and I cared not for the rest." May 1.—"I have just now a compliment from dean Atterbury's lady, to command the garden and library, and whatever the house affords; but the dean is in town with his convocation." Ibid.—"I sent over to Mrs. Atterbury, to know whether I might wait on her, but she is gone a visiting; we have exchanged some compliments; but I have not seen her yet." May 2.—"I did not go to town to-day, it was so terrible rainy; nor have I stirred out of my room till eight this evening; when I crossed the way, to see Mrs. Atterbury, and thank her for her civilities. She would needs send me some veal and small beer and ale to-day at dinner." May 3.—"Dr. Friend came this morning to visit Atterbury's lady and children, as physician; and persuaded me to go to town in his chariot." May 9.—"Since I came home, I have been sitting with the prolocutor dean Atterbury, who is my neighbour over the way, but generally keeps in town with his convocation." May 14.—"I dined with Mr. Prior to-day at his house, with dean Atterbury and others. May 16.—"I sat with dean Atterbury till one o'clock, after I came home." May 18.—"I stayed at home till five o'clock, and dined with dean Atterbury; then went by water to Mr. Harley's, where the Saturday's club was met." May 19.—"This is the first wet walk I have had in a month's time that I came here; however, I got to bed, after a short visit to Atterbury." May 24.—"My lord (Oxford) set me down at a coffee-house, where I waited for the dean of Carlisle's chariot to bring me to Chelsea; for it has rained prodigiously all this afternoon. The dean did not come

countenance with me. I am full of envy. It is too much, in so bad an age, for a person so inclined, and so able to do good, to have so great a scene of showing his inclinations and abilities.

come himself, but sent me his chariot; which has cost me two shillings to the coachman; and so I am got home; and Lord knows what is become of Patrick!" May 25.—"It was bloody hot walking to-day; and I was so lazy I dined where my new gown was, at Mrs. Vanhomrigh's, and came back like a fool, and the dean of Carlisle has sitten with me till eleven." May 28.—"I am proposing to my lord to erect a society or academy for correcting and settling our language; that we may not perpetually be changing as we do. He enters mightily into it; so does the dean of Carlisle." June 22.—"Dr. Gastrell and I dined by invitation with the dean of Carlisle." June 23.—"They still keep my neighbour Atterbury in suspense about the deanery of Christ Church, which has been above six months vacant; and he is heartily angry." June 26.—"This is the last night I lie at Chelsea; and I got home early, and sat two hours with the dean, and ate victuals, having had a very scurvy dinner." July 4.—"This day I left Chelsea for good." July 5.—"I walked to Chelsea, and was there by nine this morning; and the dean of Carlisle and I crossed the water to Battersea, and went in his chariot to Greenwich, where we dined at Dr. Gastrell's, and passed the afternoon at Lewisham, at the dean of Canterbury's; and there I saw Moll Stanhope, who is grown monstrously tall, but not so handsome as formerly. It is the first little rambling journey I have had this summer about London; and they are the agreeablest pastimes one can have, in a friend's coach and good company." July 14.—"Dean Atterbury sent to me, to dine with him at Chelsea; I refused his coach, and walked; and am come back by seven." July 19.—"The dean of Carlisle sat with me to-day till three." Aug. 21.—"I walked to-day to Chelsea, and dined with the dean of Carlisle, who is laid up with the gout. It is now fixed, that he is to be dean of Christ Church in Oxford. I was advising him to use his interest to prevent any misunderstanding between our ministers; but he is too wise to meddle though he fears the thing and the consequences as much as I. He will get into his own quiet deanery, and leave them to themselves; and he is

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If great ministers take up this exploded custom of rewarding merit, I must retire to Ireland, and wait for better times. The college and you ought to pray for another change at court, otherwise I can easily foretell that their joy and your quiet will be short. Let me advise you to place your books in moveable cases: lay in no great stock of wine, nor make any great alterations in your lodgings at Christ Church, unless you are sure they are such as your successor will approve and pay for. I am afraid the poor college little thinks of this,

"*Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aureâ.*"

I am going to Windsor with Mr. secretary *; and hope to wait on you either at Bridewell † or Chelsea ‡. I am, with great respect and esteem, sir, your most obedient and most obliged humble servant,

JCN. SWIFT.

in the right." Aug. 28.—"To-night at six Dr. Atterbury, and Prior, and I, and Dr. Freind, met at Dr. Freind's house at Westminster, who is master of the school: there we sat till one, and were good enough company." Feb. 1, 1711-12.—"I visited the secretary and then walked to Chelsea, to dine with the dean of Christ Church, who was engaged to lord Orrery, with some other Christ Church men. He made me go with him, whether I would or no; for they have this long time admitted me a Christ Church man." March 13, 1712.—"I walked this morning to Chelsea, to see Dr. Atterbury, dean of Christ Church; I had business with him, about entering Mr. Fitzmaurice, lord Kerry's son, into his college." Feb. 24, 1712-13. N.

* Mr. St. John. See in the Journal to Stella, Sept. 1, 1711, a particular account of Swift's manner of passing that day. N.

† Where Dr. Atterbury resided as preacher. N.

‡ See Mr. Lysons's Environs of London, vol. II. p. 132. N.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, WINDSOR CASTLE, OCT. 1, 1711.

I HAD the honour of a long letter from your grace about a month ago, which I forebore acknowledging sooner, because I have been ever since perpetually tossed between this and London, and partly because there had nothing happened that might make a letter worthy the perusal. It is the opinion of some great persons here, that the words which the house of commons took amiss in your address, might very well bear an application that concerned only my lord Wharton. I find they are against my opinion, that a new parliament should have been called; but all agree it must now be dissolved: but, in short, we are so extremely busy here, that nothing of Ireland is talked on above a day or two; that of the city election I have oftenest heard of; and the proceeding of your court in it, it is thought, might have been wiser. I find your grace seems to be of my opinion, and so I told my lord treasurer. I think your Kilmainham project of an address was a very foolish one, and that for the reason of those who were against it. I hope Ireland will soon be equally convinced with us here, that, if the pretender be in any body's thoughts, it is of those they least dream, and who now are in no condition of doing mischief to any but themselves. As for your convocation, I believe every thing there will terminate in good wishes. You can do nothing now, and will not meet again these two years; and then, I suppose, only to give money, and away. There

There should, methinks, in the interval, be some proposals considered and agreed upon by the bishops and principal men of the clergy, to have all ready against the next meeting; and even that I despair of, for a thousand reasons too tedious to mention.

My admiring at the odd proceedings of those among the bishops and clergy who are angry with me for getting their first-fruits, was but a form of speech. I cannot sincerely wonder at any proceedings in numbers of men, and especially (I must venture to say so) in Ireland. Meantime, it is a good jest to hear my lord treasurer saying often, before a deal of company, "that it was I that got the clergy of Ireland their first-fruits;" and generally with this addition, "that it was before the duke of Ormond was declared lord lieutenant." His lordship has long designed an answer to the letter he received from the bishops; he has told me ten times, "he would do it to-morrow." He goes to London this day, but I continue here for a week. I shall refresh his memory, and engage my lord Harley his son to do so too.

I suppose your grace cannot but hear in general of some steps that are making toward a peace. There came out some time ago an account of Mr. Prior's journey to France, pretended to be a translation: it is a pure invention, from the beginning to the end. I will let your grace into the secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace without Spain, and railing at the ministry as if they designed to ruin us, occasioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it has had a very great effect. Meantime, your grace

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may count that a peace is going forward very fast. Mr. Prior was actually in France; and there are now two ministers from that court in London, which you may be pretty sure of, if you believe what I tell you, that I supped with them myself in the house where I am now writing, Saturday last; neither do I find it to be a very great secret; for there were two gentlemen more with us beside the inviter. However, I desire your grace to say nothing of it, because it may look like lightness in me to tell it: Mr. Prior was with us too, but what their names are I cannot tell; for I believe those they passed by when I was there are not their real ones. All matters are agreed between France and us, and very much to the advantage and honour of England; but I believe no farther steps will be taken without giving notice to the allies. I do not tell you one syllable, as coming from any great minister; and therefore I do not betray them. But, there are other ways of picking out things in a court; however, I must desire you will not discover any of these little particulars, nor cite me upon any account at all; for, great men may think I tell things from them, although I have them from other hands; in which last case only, I venture to repeat them to one I can confide in, and one at so great a distance as your grace.

I humbly thank your grace for the good opinion you are pleased to have of me; and for your advice, which seems to be wholly grounded on it. As to the first, which relates to my fortune, I shall never be able to make myself believed how indifferent I am about it. I sometimes have the pleasure of making that of others; and I fear it is too great a

pleasure to be a virtue, at least in me. Perhaps in Ireland, I may not be able to prevent contempt any other way than by making my fortune: but then it is my comfort, that contempt in Ireland will be no sort of mortification to me. When I was last in Ireland, I was above half the time retired to one scurvy acre of ground; and I always left it with regret. I am as well received and known at court, as perhaps any man ever was of my level; I have formerly been the like. I left it then, and will perhaps leave it now (when they please to let me) without any concern, but what a few months will remove. It is my maxim to leave great ministers to do as they please; and if I cannot distinguish myself enough by being useful in such a way as becomes a man of conscience and honour, I can do no more; for I never will solicit for myself, although I often do for others.

The other part of your grace's advice, to be some way useful to the church and the publick by any talent you are pleased to think I possess, is the only thing for which I should desire some settlement that would make me full master of my time. I have often thought of some subjects, wherein I believe I might succeed: but, my lord, to ask a man floating at sea what he designed to do when he goes on shore, is too hasty a question; let him get there first, and rest and dry himself, and then look about him. I have been pretty well known to several great men in my life; and it was their duty, if they thought I might have been of use, to put me into a capacity for it; but I never yet knew one great man in my life, who was not every day swayed by other motives in distributing his favours, whatever resolutions

lutions he had pretended to make to the contrary. I was saying a thing the other day to my lord keeper, which he approved of, and which I believe may be the reason of this: it was, "that persons of transcendent merit forced their way in spite of all obstacles; but those whose merit was of a second, third, or fourth rate, were seldom able to do any thing because the knaves and dunces of the world had all the impudence, assiduity, flattery, and servile compliance divided among them, which kept them perpetually in the way, and engaged every body to be their solicitors." I was asking a great minister, a month ago, "how he could possibly happen to pick out a certain person to employ in a commission of discovering abuses, who was the most notorious for the constant practice of the greatest abuses in that very kind, and was very well known not to be at all reformed?" He said, "he knew all this; but what would I have him to do?" I answered, "Send any one of your footmen, and command him to choose out the first likely genteel fellow he sees in the streets; for such a one might possibly be honest, but he was sure the other was not, and yet they have employed him."

I promise your grace that this shall be the last sally I shall ever make to a court, and that I will return as soon as I can have leave. I have no great pleasure in my present manner of living, often involved in things that perplex me very much, and which try my patience to the utmost; teased every day by solicitors, who have so little sense as to think I have either credit or inclination to be theirs, although they see I am able to get

nothing for myself. But I find I am grown very tedious, and therefore conclude, with the greatest respect, my lord, &c.

JON. SWIFT.

FROM ARCHBISHOP KING.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, OCT. 27, 1711.

I HAVE before me your's of the first instant, but have been so employed with attending parliament, convocation, and privy council, that I could neither compose my thoughts to write, nor find time. Besides, our business is all in a hurry; and I may say in fine, that things admit of no perfect account. On Wednesday the corn bill, which the commons seemed to value most, was thrown out; because it reserved a power to the lord lieutenant and council here, to prohibit or permit the transportation of grain at any time. There was a design to fall on the privy council upon this occasion; but gentlemen would not come into it; which showed they had some wit in their anger. And I am still of opinion, that, with tolerable good management, this would have been as quiet a session as has been in Ireland: but the Dublin business, the address of the lords, Langton's affair †, and now Higgins's *, have

* See before, p. 153. N.

† Dominick Langton, clerk, formerly a friar, had accused Lewis Mears, esq. and other protestant gentlemen of the county of West Meath, of entering into an association against the queen and

exasperated the commons to such a height, that will, as you observe, make this parliament to be impracticable any longer. It is true, the lords' address might have been interpreted to aim at lord Wharton, and was partly so intended; but it was ill expressed to bear that sense; and besides, what did it signify for us to show our resentment, when it could only provoke a great man to revenge, and could not reach him?

As to the first-fruits and twentieth parts, no body here dare say, that any body, beside the duke of Ormond, procured them, but his grace himself; who, for aught I can learn, never assumed, either publickly or privately, any such merit to himself; and yet, I confess, it is not amiss, that it should be thought he did those things. For he could not think of governing the kingdom, if it be not believed, that he has great interest at court; and if that did not appear by some favours of moment obtained for the kingdom, none would suppose it. He is truly a modest, generous, and honest man; and assure yourself, that whatever disturbance he has met with, proceeds from his sticking too close to his friends. It is a pity, such a fault should hurt a man. I send you enclosed the papers that relate to Mr. Higgins. Lord Santry was heard against him, before the lord lieutenant and council, October 27: he was allowed only to prove the articles

and her ministry: upon which the house of commons in Ireland, on the sixth of August 1711, voted several strong resolutions against the said Langton, declaring his charge against Mr. Mears, &c. to be false, groundless, and malicious; and resolved, that an address should be presented to the lord lieutenant, the duke of Ormond, to desire, that her majesty would order the said Langton to be struck off the establishment of Ireland. B.

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in his petition, that are marked with P, and he seemed to prove them pretty fully; but Mr. Higgins not having yet made his defence, I can give no judgment. By the testimony of the lower house of convocation, in his favour, you will see how heartily they espouse him. And surely both pains and art have been used to screen him: with what effect you shall hear when the matter is concluded. I wish every good man may meet with as good and as fast friends as he has done. I send you likewise the votes, that kept the commons in debate, from eleven in the morning till seven at night. The question was carried in the negative, by two accidents: the going out of one member, by chance, to speak to somebody at the putting the question; and the coming in of another, in his boots, at the very minute. If either had not happened, it had gone the other way. The personal affection to the duke of Ormond divided the house. If they could have separated him from some others, the majority had been great. You may easily from this, see, what way the bent of this kingdom goes; and that garbling corporations no ways please them.

We have several printed accounts of preliminaries of the peace; but I believe them all amusements; for I imagine none of the common scribblers know any thing of them at all. I pray God they may be such as may secure us from a new war; though, I believe, the death of the emperor makes a lasting peace much more difficult than before. That depends on a balance, and to that three things seem so necessary, that any two may stop the third; but now all is reduced to two. I reckon, as soon as the peace is settled, the dauphin will be taken out of the

the way, and then France and Spain will fall into one hand: a surmise I have had in mind ever since Philip got Spain; and I was of opinion, that if we could have been secured against this accident, there had been no need of a war at all.

As to the convocation, I told you formerly how we lost all the time of a recess, by a precipitate adjournment made by five bishops, when the archbishop of Tuam, and as many of us as were of the privy council, were absent, attending at the board, upon a hearing of the quakers against the bill for recovery of tithes. Since the meeting of the parliament, after the recess, we have attended pretty closely, have drawn up and agreed to six or seven canons, and have drawn up a representation of the state of religion, as to infidelity, heresy, impiety, and popery. We have gone through likewise, and agreed to, a part of this; but I doubt we shall not be able to finish it. We have also before us the consideration of residence, and the means of converting papists. This last sent up from the lower house. But I reckon it not possible to finish these things this session. I need not tell you, that my lord primate's indisposition is a great clog to dispatch; but he is resolved none else shall have the chair. So we dispense with many things, that otherwise I believe we should not. We had only two church bills at this time; one for unions, which was thrown out in our house; and another for recovery of tithes, which I understand will be thrown out by the commons. Our session draws near an end, and every body is tired of it.

WILL. DUBLIN.

FROM THE SAME.

OCTOBER 31, 1711.

TO-DAY we had another hearing at council, concerning Mr. Higgins's business. Some of his witnesses were examined. So far as we have yet heard, it does not appear to me, that they have yet cleared him of tampering with witnesses, shifting recognizances, or compounding felonies; but, it is said, these things are common in the country; and perhaps that will save him. And I know not how far his other witnesses, that are yet to be examined, may clear him. The hearing lasted above three hours. I was unwilling to make this packet too large, so I have enclosed the other prints in another. I want some affidavits of gentlemen, in which they depose Mr. Higgins's case to contain many falsehoods.

I am, *&c.* WILL. DUBLIN.

FROM THE SAME.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, NOV. 1, 1711.

I HAVE considered that part of your letter that relates to your concerns. I find you, in earnest, very indifferent as to making your fortune; but you ought not to be so, for a weighty reason you insinuate yourself, that you cannot, without a settlement,

ment, be master of your time in such a manner, as to apply yourself to do something that may be useful to the church. I know it is not in your power to do it when you please: but yet something may be done toward it. Get but a letter to the government, from my lord treasurer, for the first good preferment; and you will, at the same time, fill it with a good man, and perhaps prevent a bad one from getting into it. Sure there is no immodesty in getting such a recommendation. Consider that years grow upon you; and, after fifty, both body and mind decay. I have several things on the anvil, and near finished, that perhaps might be useful, if published; but the continual avocation by business, the impositions on me by impertinent visits, and the uneasiness of writing, which grows more intolerable to me every day, I doubt, will prevent my going any farther. Therefore lose no time; *qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit.* I am sure, you are able to do good service; and give me leave to be importunate with you to go about it. Cæsar wrote his Commentaries under the hurry and fatigues of a general; and perhaps a man's spirit is never more awakened, nor his thoughts better, than in the intervals of a hurry of business. Read Erasmus's life, and you'll find it was almost a continual journey. You see how malicious some are towards you, in printing a parcel of trifles, falsely, as your works. This makes it necessary that you should shame those varlets, by something that may enlighten the world, which I am sure your genius will reach, if you set yourself to it. If I had the honour to have any correspondence with my lord treasurer, I would certainly complain of you to him, and get his lordship

lordship to join in this request, which, I persuade myself, he would readily do, if put in mind. I do not in the least fear that you will be angry with me for this, since you cannot suspect my sincerity and kindness in it: and though I shall be angry with you, if you neglect yourself and interest, yet it shall go no farther, than to be a trouble to myself, but no abatement of the real friendship of

Your's, *&c.*

WILL. DUBLIN.

FROM THE SAME.

REVEREND SIR, DUBLIN, NOV. 10, 1711.

PERHAPS it will not be ungrateful to you, to know our session of Parliament ended on Friday last. We threw out in the house of lords, two bills; that against fines in the city of Dublin, and about quit-rents; and voted an address, in opposition to the commons' address about revolution principles. We likewise burned Mr. Stoughton's sermon *, preached at Christ Church on the 30th of January, some years ago. The house were pleased to vote me thanks for prosecuting him, which, you may remember, I did in a difficult time, notwithstanding the opposition I had from the government, and his protection by lord Ikerin, which he pleaded in court: and yet I followed him so close, that I forced him out of his living. After

* See before, pp. 84, 96. N.

this,

this, we burned Mr. Boyse's book of A Scriptural Bishop *; and some Observators †. Our address was brought in yesterday; in which sure we are even with the commons. I forgot to tell you, we agreed to another address against dissenting ministers, and their twelve hundred pounds ‡ *per annum*. The commons made an address to my lord lieutenant, in which they bring him in for revolution principles. "The Memorial of the Church of England §" was reprinted here, and dedicated to my lord lieutenant. This was brought into the house of commons, and I doubt, would not have

* It was printed in 4to at Dublin, under the title of "The Office of a Christian Bishop described, and recommended from 1 Tim. ch. iii. ver. 1; an ordination sermon. With an appendix to it, and a postscript, containing an apology for the publication of it." The appendix and postscript were added to the second edition of the Sermon. The author was an eminent Dissenting minister at Dublin. B.

† Papers published under that title by John Tutchin, esq. who had been severely sentenced by lord chief justice Jeffreys, in king James the Second's reign. He was, at last, attacked in the night, for some offence which he had given by his writings, and died in consequence of the violence used toward him. Dr. Swift, in his Examiner, No. 15, Nov. 16, 1710, speaks of this writer, and of Daniel de Foe, author of "The Review of the State of the British Nation," as, "Two stupid illiterate scribblers, both of them fanaticks by profession." B.

‡ This address was agreed upon Nov. 9, 1711. The twelve hundred pounds *per annum* was originally a bounty to those ministers from king Charles the Second, confirmed by king William, and continued by queen Anne. B.

§ Published at first in 1705, 4to, under this title, "The Memorial of the Church of England, humbly offered to the consideration of all true Lovers of our Church and Constitution."—This libel, upon its first publication, having been presented as such by the grand jury of London and Middlesex, Aug. 31, 1705, was burnt by the common hangman. B.

escaped

escaped, if the usher of the black rod had not called them up to the prorogation. Langton's business came likewise into the house of lords, and when the house was full of ladies, an offer was made to receive the report of the committee, which contained many sheets of paper. A great debate happened upon it: but at last it was waved, and ordered to be laid before the lord lieutenant.

In short, we parted in very ill humour; and I apprehend that the minds of the generality are not easy. My lord duke of Ormond, so far as I could take it, made a very modest and healing speech; and his grace seemed, in it, to be altogether disinterested in parties. All these you have in publick; and if you think it worth while, I will take care to send them as they are printed.

As to our convocation, those who had loitered and done nothing before last week, pressed on the representation of the state of religion, as to infidelity, heresy, impiety, and popery; it will, in some time, be printed. I had many reasons, but insisted only on two; first, its imputing all vices to us, as if we were the worst of people in the world; not allowing any good among us. Secondly, not assigning it a cause of the natives continuing papists, that no care was ever taken to preach to them in their own language, or translating the service into Irish. You will find the matter in Heylin's Reformation, 2d Eliz. 1560, p. 128. I was forced to use art to procure this protest to be admitted, without which they would not have allowed me to offer reasons, as I had cause to believe.

Both the parliament and convocation have been so ordered, as to make us appear the worst people

in

in the world, disloyal to her majesty, and enemies to the church; and I suspect, with a design to make us appear unworthy to have any countenance or preferment in our native country. When the representation is printed, I will, if you think it worth your while, send you my protest. We agreed likewise in some canons of no great moment, and some forms of prayer, and forms of receiving papists, and sectaries; which, I think, are too strait. I brought in a paper about residence; but here was no time to consider it, nor that which related to the means of converting papists. I did not perceive any zeal that way. A great part of our representation relates to sectaries; and many things, in the whole, seem to me not defensible. I told you before, how we lost six weeks, during the adjournment of the parliament; and since it sat, we could only meet in the afternoon, and I was frequently in council; so that I was neither present when it was brought into the house, when it passed for the most part, or was sent down in parcels, in foul rased papers, that I could not well read, if I had an opportunity; and never heard it read through before it past.

I believe most are agreed, that if my advice had been taken, this would have been the peaceablest session that ever was in Ireland; whereas it has been one of the most boisterous. I believe it was his grace the duke of Ormond's interest to have it quiet; but then the managers' conduct has showed themselves to be necessary. I have wearied myself with this scroll, and perhaps you will be so likewise.

I am, &c.

WILL. DUBLIN.

FROM MR. SECRETARY ST. JOHN.

HAMPTON COURT, NOV. 16, 1711.

I RETURN you the sheet*, which is, I think, very correct. Sunday morning I hope to see you. I am sincerely your hearty friend and obedient servant,

H. ST. JOHN.

I have a vile story to tell you of the moral philosopher Steele.

FROM THE SAME.

DEAR DOCTOR, NOV. 17, 1711.

I ASK pardon for my mistake†, and I send you the right paper. I am, in sickness and in health, ever your faithful friend, and obedient servant,

H. ST. JOHN.

FROM MRS. LONG ‡.

NOVEMBER 18, 1711.

IF you will again allow me the pleasure of hearing from you, without murmuring, I will let you enjoy that of laughing at me for any foolish word I misapply;

* Probably of "The Conduct of the Allies," which was published Nov. 27, 1711. B.

† Alluding to the preceding letter. N.

‡ Thus indorsed by the Doctor; "Poor Mrs. Long's last letter, written five weeks before she died." D. S.

misapply; for I know you are too reasonable to expect me to be nicely right in the matter; but then when you take a fancy to be angry, pray let me know it quietly, that I may clear my meanings, which are always far from offending my friends, however unhappy I may be in my expressions. Could I expect you to remember any part of my letters so long ago, I would ask you, that you should know where to find me when you had a mind to it; but I suppose you were in a romantic strain, and designed to have surprised me talking to myself in a wood, or by the sea. Forgive the dullness of my apprehension, and if telling you that I am at Lynn will not do, I will print it, however inconvenient it may yet be to me; for I am not the better for the old lady's death, but am put in hopes of being easy at Christmas; however, I shall still continue to be *Mrs. Smyth*, near St. Nicholas's church in the town aforesaid. So much for my affairs. Now as to my health, that was much out of order last summer; my distemper was a dropsy or asthma (you know what I mean, but I cannot spell it right) or both, lazy distempers, which I was too lazy to molest while they would let me sit in quiet; but when they grew so unreasonable as not to let me do that, I applied myself to Dr. Inglis, by whose advice I am now well enough. To give you the best account I can of this place, the ladies will make any returns, if one may believe what they say of one another; the men I know little of, for I am here, what you have often upbraided me with, a prude in every thing but censuring my neighbours. A couple of divines, two aldermen, and a custom-house officer, are all my men acquaintance; the gay part of the

town

town I know nothing of, and although for the honour of the place I will suppose there are good poets, yet that I never inquired after. I have a shelf pretty well filled at home, but want a Miscellany Mr. Steele put out last year; Miss Hessy* promised it me, but has forgot it; I fancy you have interest enough with him to get it for me. I wish too at your leisure you would make a pedigree for me; the people here want sadly to know what I am; I pretend to no more than being of George Smyth's family of Nitly, but do not talk much of it for fear of betraying myself; so they fancy some mystery to be in the matter, and would give their rivals' place to be satisfied. At first they thought I came hither to make my fortune, by catching up some of their young fellows; but having avoided that sort of company, I am still a riddle they know not what to make of. Many of them seem to love me well enough; for I hear all they say of one mother without making mischief among them, and give them tea and coffee when I have it, which are the greatest charms I can boast of: the fine lady I have left to Moll (who I suppose was at the Bath) or any other that will take it up: for I am grown a good housewife; I can pot and pickle, sir, and handle a needle very prettily; see Miss Hessy's scarf, I think that is improving mightily. If Miss Hessy keeps company with the eldest Hatton, and is still a politician, she is not the girl I took her for; but to me she seems melancholy. Sure Mr. St. John is not so altered but he will make returns; but how can I pretend to judge of any thing, when my poor

* Miss Vanhomrigh. N.

cousin

cousin is taken for an hermaphrodite? a thing I as little suspected her for as railing at any body: I know so little cause for it, that I must be silent. I hear but little of what is done in the world, but should be glad the ministry did themselves the justice to distinguish men of merit: may I wish you joy of any preferment? I shall do it heartily: but if you have got nothing, I am busy to as much purpose as you, although my employments are next to picking straws. Oh, but you are acquainted with my lord Fitzharding, for which I rejoice with you, and am your most obedient servant,

ANNE LONG *.

MR. SHOWER † TO THE LORD HIGH-TREASURER OXFORD.

MY LORD, LONDON, DEC. 20, 1711.

THOUGH there be little reason to expect your lordship should interpose in favour of the dissenters, who have been so shamefully abandoned, sold, and sacrificed by their professed friends; the attempt is however so glorious, in all its views, tendencies, and prospects, that, if it be not too late, I would

* See the Dean's Letter on this Lady's death, p. 244. N.

† An eminent dissenting minister. He was born at Exeter in 1657, and officiated in the Old Jury. He died June 28, 1715, after having published a great number of Sermons and other religious treatises, which are enumerated in the Life prefixed to his Funeral Sermon by W. Tong. Sir Bartholomew Shower was his brother. B.

most humbly beg your lordship not to be immoveable as to that matter. The fatal consequences of that bill cannot be expressed: I dread to think of some of them; and shall as much rejoice with many thousands, if you may be instrumental to prevent it. May Heaven direct you in this, and all your great affairs for the public good of your country!

I am, my honoured lord,
Your most obedient servant,
JOHN SHOWER.

THE LORD TREASURER'S ANSWER *.

REVEREND SIR, DEC. 21, 1711.

HAD not a very painful distemper confined me, I had desired the favour of seeing you some time since; and should have spoken very plainly to you, as I shall whenever I see you. I have long foretold, that the dissenters must be saved whether they will or not; they resist even restraining grace; and would almost convince me, that the notion of man's being a mechanism is true in every part. To see men moved as puppets, with rage for their interest; with envy acting against their own interest,

* The answer was written by Dr. Swift, as appears not only from his handwriting, but particularly from a correction in the original draught. It appears also, by the Journal to Stella, that another answer had been written by the Earl of Oxford; "which his friends would not let him send, but was a very good one." N.

having

having men's persons in admiration: not only those of their own body, who certainly are the first who pretended to consummate wisdom and deep policy, yet have shown that they knew not the common affairs of this nation, but are dwellers in thick clay. They are epicureans in act, puritans in profession, politicians in conceit, and a prey and laughing-stock to the deists and synagogue of the libertines, in whom they have trusted, and to whose infallibility they have sold themselves and their congregations. All they have done or can do, shall never make me their enemy. I pity poor deluded creatures, that have for seventeen years been acting against all their principles, and the liberty of this nation, without leaving so much salt as to keep the body of them sweet: for there has not been one good bill, during that term of years, which they have not opposed in the house of commons: contrary to the practice of those very few dissenters which were in the parliament in king Charles the Second's time, who thereby united themselves to the country gentlemen, the advantage of which they found for many years after. But now they have listed themselves with those, who had first denied our Saviour, and now have sold them.

I have written this only to show you, that I am ready to do every thing that is practicable, to save people who are bargained for by their leaders, and given up by their ministers: I say, their *ministers*; because it is averred and represented, that the dissenting ministers have been consulted, and are consenting to this bill. By what lies and arts they are brought to this, I do not care to mention; but, as to myself, the engineers of this bill thought

they had obtained a great advantage against me: finding I had stopped it in the house of commons, they thought to bring me to a fatal dilemma, whether it did, or did not pass. This would have no influence with me: for I will act what I think to be right, let there be the worst enemies in the world of one side or other. I guess, by your letter, that you do not know that the bill yesterday passed both houses, the lords having agreed to the amendments made by the commons; so that there is no room to do any thing upon that head.

What remains is, to desire that the dissenters may seriously think from whence they are fallen, and do their first works—and recover their reputation of sobriety, integrity, aad love of their country, which is the sincere and hearty prayer of,

Reverend sir,
your most faithful and
most humble servant,
OXFORD.

TO MR. ——— AT LYNN *.

SIR, LONDON, DEC. 26, 1711.

THAT you may not be surprised with a letter utterly unknown to you, I will tell you the occasion of it. The lady who lived near two years in

* See p. 241; and the Decree for concluding the treaty between Dr. Swift and Mrs. Long, in 1709, printed in this collection. This letter was probably addressed to the officiating Clergyman; but it seems to have had no effect. N.

your neighbourhood, and whom you was so kind to visit under the name of Mrs. Smyth, was Mrs. Anne Long, sister to sir James Long, and niece of colonel Strangeways: she was of as good a private family as most in England, and had every valuable quality of body and mind that could make a lady loved and esteemed. Accordingly she was always valued here above most of her sex, and by most distinguished persons. But, by the unkindness of her friends and the generosity of her own nature, and depending upon the death of a very old grandmother, which did not happen till it was too late, contracted some debts that made her uneasy here, and in order to clear them was content to retire unknown to your town, where I fear her death has been hastened by melancholy, and perhaps the want of such assistance as she might have found here. I thought fit to signify this to you, partly to let you know how valuable a person you have lost, but chiefly to desire that you will please to bury her in some part of your church near a wall where a plain marble stone may be fixed, as a poor monument for one who deserved so well, and which, if God sends me life, I hope one day to place there, if no other of her friends will think fit to do it. I had the honour of an intimate acquaintance with her, and was never so sensibly touched with any one's death as with her's. Neither did I ever know a person of either sex with more virtues, or fewer infirmities: the only one she had, which was the neglect of her own affairs, arising wholly from the goodness of her temper. I write not this to you at all as a secret, but am content your town should know what an excellent person they have had among them. If

you

you visited her any short time before her death, or knew any particulars about it, or of the state of her mind, or the nature of her disease, I beg you will be so obliging to inform me; for the letter we have seen from her poor maid is so imperfect by her grief for the death of so good a lady, that it only tells the time of her death; and your letter may, if you please, be directed to Dr. Swift, and put under a cover, which cover may be directed to Erasmus Lewis, esq. at the earl of Dartmouth's office, at Whitehall. I hope you will forgive this trouble for the occasion of it, and give some allowances to so great a loss, not only to me, but to all who have any regard for every perfection that human nature can possess; and if any way I can serve or oblige you, I shall be glad of an opportunity of obeying your commands.

I am, &c. JON. SWIFT.

TO DEAN STERNE.

SIR, LONDON, DEC. 29, 1711.

THE reason I have not troubled you this long time with my letters, was, because I would not disturb the quiet you live in, and which the greatest and wisest men here would envy, if they knew; and which it is one part of your happiness that they do not. I have often sent the archbishop * politi-

* The archbishop of Dublin, Dr. King. B.

cal

cal letters, of which I suppose you have had part. I have some weeks ago received a letter from his grace, which I design to acknowledge in a short time (as I desire you will please to tell him) when things here come to some issue; and so we expect they will do in a little time. You know what an unexpected thing fell out the first day of this session in the house of lords, by the caprice, discontent, or some worse motive of the earl of Nottingham *.

In above twenty years, that I have known something of courts, I never observed so many odd, dark, unaccountable circumstances in any public affair. A majority against the court, carried by five or six depending lords, who owed the best of their bread to pensions from the court, and who were told by the public enemy, that what they did would be pleasing to the queen, though it was openly levelled against the first minister's head: again, those whose pursestrings and heartstrings were the same, all on a sudden scattering their money to bribe votes: a lord †, who had been so far always a tory, as often to be thought in the pretender's interest, giving his vote for the ruin of all his old friends, caressed by those whigs, who

* The earl of Nottingham proposed, in the house of lords, a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks to the queen for her speech, to represent to her majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of the house, that no peace could be made safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain or the West Indies were to be allowed to any branch of the house of Bourbon. Which motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one votes to fifty-five. B.

† Earl of Nottingham. B.

hated

hated and abhorred him: the whigs all chiming in with a bill against occasional conformity *; and the very dissenting ministers agreeing to it, for reasons that no body alive can tell †; a resolution of breaking the treaty of peace, without any possible scheme for continuing the war: and all this owing to a doubtfulness, or inconstancy in one certain quarter, which, at this distance, I dare not describe. Neither do I find any one person, though deepest in affairs, who can tell what steps to take. On January the second, the house of lords is to meet, and it is expected, they will go on in their votes and addresses against a peace.

* One of the conditions upon which the Earl of Nottingham was said to have entered into strict engagements with the lords of the moderate party, was their concurrence with him in a bill to prevent *occasional conformity*, which he had formerly urged, and now designed to bring into the house of lords; though under another title, and with such clauses as would, in some measure, enlarge the toleration of Dissenters, and be a farther security to the Protestant succession in the house of commons. Accordingly, Dec. 15, 1711, his lordship brought into the house of lords, "A bill for preserving the Protestant religion by better securing the Church of England, as by law established; and for confirming the toleration granted by Protestant Dissenters, by an act, intituled, 'An act for exempting their majesties, Protestant subjects from the penalties of certain laws; and for the supplying the defects thereof;' and for the further securing the Protestant succession, by requiring the practisers of the law, in North Britain, to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned." His lordship was supported by the earls of Scarborough and Wharton, and several other lords; so that the bill was received, and read the first time without opposition; and Dec. 18, it passed the house of lords; as it did that of the commons on the 20th. B.

† It is said the Dissenters consented to be kept out, that the Papists might not be let in. H.

On

On the other side, we are endeavouring to get a majority, and have called up two earls' sons to the house of peers; and I thought six more would have been called, and perhaps they may before Wednesday. We expect the duke of Somerset and lord Cholmondeley will lose their places; but it is not yet done, and we wish for one more change at court, which you must guess. To know upon what small circumstances, and by what degrees, this change has been brought about, would require a great deal more than I can, or dare write.

There is not one, which I did not give warning of to those chiefly concerned, many months ago; and so did some others, for they were visible enough. This must infallibly end either in an entire change of measures and ministry, or in a firm establishment of our side. Delay, and tenderness to an inveterate party, have been very instrumental to this ill state of affairs. They tell me you in Ireland are furious against a peace; and it is a great jest to see people in Ireland furious for or against any thing.

I hope to see you in spring, when travelling weather comes on. But I have a mind to see the issue of this session. I reckon your hands are now out of mortar, and that your garden is finished: and I suppose you have now one or two fifty pounds ready for books *, which I will lay out for you, if you will give me directions.

* Dr. Sterne made a large collection of books, and placed them in the upper part of the Deanery-house (then built by him) which he fitted up for this purpose in one great room, with a fire-place at each end. He enlarged this collection very much in the subsequent part of his life; and when he died bishop of Clogher

I have increased my own little library very considerably; I mean, as far as one fifty pounds, which is very considerable for me. I have just had a letter from the St. Mary ladies, &c.* I thought they were both dead; but I find they sometimes drink your claret still, and win your money.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

You know who.

P. S. I had sealed my letter, but have broke it open, to tell you, and all that love the church and crown, that all things are now well. The queen has turned out the duke of Somerset, and has created twelve new lords, of which three are peers eldest sons, the rest new created; so that a majority is past dispute. We are all in the greatest joy imaginable to find her majesty declare herself so seasonably.

Clogher, in June 1745, he bequeathed such books out of it, to the trustees of the public library in Dublin, founded by primate Marsh, as they wanted. The remainder he directed to be sold, and the money to be divided among the curates of his diocese; but as those gentlemen chose rather to have the books divided amongst them, their request was complied with by the bishop's executors; and all the books, being a great number, were divided into lots, as nearly equal as possible in value, and nailed up in boxes that were numbered. Duplicates of these numbers were written on pieces of paper, and the curates drew for them. H.

* Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley. B.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, JAN. 8, 1711-12.

I CANNOT in conscience take up your grace's time with an empty letter; and it is not every day one can furnish what will be worth your reading. I had all your grace's packets; and I humbly thank your grace for your good instructions to me, which I shall observe as soon as ever it shall please God to put me into a way of life where I can have leisure for such speculations.

In above twenty years that I have known something of courts and ministers, I never saw so strange and odd a complicated disposition of affairs as what we have had for six weeks past. The facts your grace may have met with in every common newspaper; but the springs of them are hardly discoverable even by those who had most opportunity of observing. Neither do I find those who should know best, agree upon the matter. There is a perpetual trial of skill between those who are out and those who are in; and the former are generally more industrious at watching opportunities. Last September, at Windsor, the duke of Somerset *, who had not been at cabinet council for many months, was advised by his friends of the late ministry to appear there, but the rest refused to sit with him; and the council was put off until next day, when the duke went to a horserace. This was

* This happened August 12, 1711. See Journal to Stella, August 13. N.

declaring

declaring open war; and ever since both he and his duchess (who is in great favour) have been using all sorts of means to break the present ministry. Mrs. Masham was absent two months from Windsor, with lying in at Kensington, and my lord treasurer six weeks by indisposition. Some time before the session, the duke above mentioned went to all those lords, who, by the narrowness of their fortunes, have depended on the court, and engaged them to vote against the ministry, by assuring them it was the queen's pleasure. He is said to have added other powerful motives. Bothmar's * memorial was published just at that juncture, as Hoffman the emperor's resident had some time before printed the French king's propositions. It is confidently affirmed, by those who should know, that money was plentifully scattered. By these and some other accidents, the vote was carried against the ministry; and every body of either party understood the thing as intended directly against my lord treasurer's head. The house of lords made a very short adjournment, and were preparing some resolutions and addresses of the most dangerous importance. We had a very melancholy Christmas, and the most fearless persons were shaken: for our great danger lay where I cannot tell your grace at this distance. The thing wished for was, the removal of the Somerset family; but that could not be done, nor yet is. After some time, the queen declared herself as you have heard, and twelve new lords were created.

My lord Nottingham's game in this affair has been most talked off, and several hard things said of him

* Baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, afterward king George I. N.

are

are affirmed to be true. The dissenting ministers in this town were consulted about the occasional bill, and agreed to it, for what reasons I cannot learn; that which is offered not satisfying me, that they were afraid of worse. I believe they expected an entire change of ministry and measures, and a new parliament, by which it might be repealed, and have instead some law to their advantage. The duke of Marlborough's removal * has passed very silently; the particular reasons for it I must tell your grace some other time: but how it will pass abroad I cannot answer. People on both sides conclude from it, that the peace is certain; but the conclusion is ill drawn: the thing would have been done, although we had been sure of continuing the war. We are terribly afraid of prince Eugene's coming, and therefore it was put off until the resolutions were taken. Before he came out of his yacht, he asked how many lords were made? He was a quarter of an hour with the queen, on Sunday about seven at night. The great men resolve to entertain him in their turns; and we suppose it will all end in a journey of pleasure. We are so confidently told of the duke of Somerset's being out, that I writ so to the dean of St. Patrick's. A man of quality told me, he had it from my lord keeper, whom I asked next day, and found it a mistake; but it is impossible to fence against all lies; however, it is still expected that the duke will be out, and that many other removes will be made. Lord Ranelagh † died on

* Dec. 30, 1711. See Journal to Stella, Jan. 1, 1711-12. N.

† Richard Jones, baron Jones of Navan, and viscount Ranelagh, created earl of Ranelagh, Dec. 11, 1677. He was vice treasurer of Ireland, constable of Athlone, several years paymaster

Sunday morning: he was very poor and needy, and could hardly support himself for want of a pension, which used to be paid him, and which his friends solicited as a thing of perfect charity. He died hard, as the term of art here is, to express the woeful state of men who discover no religion at their death.

The town talk is that the duke of Ormond will go no more to Ireland, but be succeeded by the duke of Shrewsbury, who is a very great and excellent person; and I will hold a wager that your grace will be an admirer of his duchess: if they go, I will certainly order her to make all advances to you: but this is only a general report, of which they know nothing at court, although I think it not altogether improbable.

We have yet heard nothing of my lord privy seal. Buys, the Dutch envoy, went to Holland, I think, at the same time. Buys is a great pretender to politicks, and always leaves the company with great expressions of satisfaction that he has convinced them all: he took much pains to persuade me out of some opinions; and, although all he said did but fix me deeper, he told the ministry how successful he had been. I have got poor Dr. King *, who

master of the army, and a lord of the privy council. Dying Jan. 3, 1711, without surviving male issue, the title of earl became extinct; but those of viscount and baron reverted to the issue of a second son of sir Roger Jones, the first viscount. See a letter to lady Catharine Jones, his daughter, June 11, 1729; and another, June 15, 1732. N.

* Dr. William King of the Commons; whose Miscellaneous Writings, in verse and prose, were collected in three volumes, small 8vo. 1776, with Biographical Memoirs, by the editor of these volumes. N.

was

was some time in Ireland, to be Gazetteer, which will be worth 250*l.* *per annum* to him, if he be diligent and sober, for which I am engaged. I mention this, because I think he was under your grace's protection when he was in Ireland.

By what I gather from Mr. Southwell, I believe your grace stands very well with the duke of Ormond; and it is one great addition to my esteem for Mr. Southwell, that he is entirely your grace's friend and humble servant, delighting to do you justice upon all occasions.

I am, with the greatest respect,
your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,

FROM DR. SACHEVERELL.

REVEREND SIR, SOUTHWARK, JAN. 31, 1711-12.

SINCE you have been pleased to undertake the generous office of soliciting my good lord treasurer's favour in my behalf, I should be very ungrateful if I did not return you my most hearty thanks for it, and my humblest acknowledgments to his lordship for the success it has met with.

I received last Monday a message by my pupil, Mr. Lloyd (representative of Shropshire), from Mr. Harley, by his lordship's order, to inquire what my brother was qualified for. I told him, having failed in his trade, he had been out of business

ness for some years, during which time I had entirely maintained him and his family; that his education had not qualified him for any considerable or nice post: but that, if his lordship thought him an object of his favour, I entirely submitted him to his disposal, and should be very thankful to his goodness to ease me of part of that heavy burden of my family, that required more than my poor circumstances could allow of.

I am informed also, that I am very much indebted to my great countryman, Mr. secretary St. John, for his generous recommendation of this matter to his lordship. I should be proud of an opportunity of expressing my gratitude to that eminent patriot, for whom no one, that wishes the welfare or honour of his church or country, can have too great a veneration.

But for yourself, (good doctor!) who was the first spring to move it, I can never sufficiently acknowledge the obligation. I should be glad, if you will command me, in any time or place to do it, which will be a farther favour conferred on, reverend sir,

Your most faithful servant,

H. SACHEVERELL.

P. S. I am told there is a place in the custom-house void, called the searchers; which, if proper to ask, I would not presume; but rather leave it to his lordship's disposal.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, MARCH 29, 1712.

I CANNOT ask pardon for not sooner acknowledging your grace's letter, because that would look as if I thought mine were of consequence. Either I grow weary of politicks, or am out of the way of them, or there is less stirring than usual; and indeed we are all in suspense at present; but I am told that in ten or twelve days time, we shall know what the issue will be at Utrecht. I can only tell your grace, that there are some unlucky circumstances, not proper to be trusted to a letter, which have hitherto retarded this great work; *Mihi ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur.* Mean-time we are with great difficulty raising funds upon which to borrow five millions. One of those funds is a tax upon paper, and I think 30 *per cent.* upon imported books; and of such a nature as I could not yesterday forbear saying to my lord treasurer and the chancellor of the exchequer, that instead of preventing small papers and libels, it will leave nothing else for the press. I have not talked to the duke of Argyle upon the affairs of Spain, since his return; but am told he affirms it impossible for us to carry on the war there by our former methods. The duke of Ormond is expected to go in two or three days for Flanders. And what I writ to your grace some months ago of the duke of Shrewsbury succeeding to govern Ireland, will, I suppose, be soon declared. I was the other day to see the duchess, and reported your grace's compliments, which she took very well; and I told her

I was resolved your grace and she should be very good acquaintance. I believe the spirit of your houghers has got into our mohawks, who are still very troublesome, and every night cut somebody or other over the face; and commit a hundred insolent barbarities.

There was never the least design of any impeachment against the duke of Marlborough; and it was his own great weakness, or the folly of his friends, that the thing went so far as it did.

I know not whether it is that people have talked themselves hoarse, but for some weeks past we have heard less of the pretender than formerly. I suppose it is, like a fashion, got into Ireland, when it is out here: but, in my conscience, I do not think any one person in the court or ministry here designs any more to bring in the pretender, than the great Turk. I hope Mr. Harley, who is now on his journey to Hanover, will give that court a truer opinion of persons and things than they have hitherto conceived. And, if your grace knew the instrument, through which these false opinions have been infused, you would allow it another instance of the *Ludibrium rerum mortalium*. And your grace cannot but agree, that it is something singular for the prince in possession to make perpetual advances, and the presumptive heir to be standing off and suspicious.

I know not whether your grace has considered the position that my lord treasurer is visibly in. The late ministry, and their adherents, confess themselves fully resolved to have his head, whenever it is in their power; and were prepared, upon the beginning of the sessions, when the vote was carried against any peace without Spain, to move that he should

should be sent to the Tower*: at the same time, his friends, and the tories in general, are discontented at his slowness in the changing of commissions and employments, to which the weakness of the court interest in the house of lords is wholly imputed: neither do I find that those in the greatest stations, or most in the confidence of my lord treasurer, are able to account for this proceeding, or seem satisfied with it. I have endeavoured to solve this difficulty another way; and I fancy I am in the right, from words I have heard let fall: but, whatever be the cause, the consequences may be dangerous.

The queen is in very good health, but does not use so much exercise as she ought. Pray God preserve her many years!

A projector has lately applied to me to recommend him to the ministry about an invention for finding out the longitude. He has given in a petition to the queen by Mr. secretary St. John. I understand nothing of the mathematicks; but I am told it is a thing as improbable as the philosopher's stone, or perpetual motion.

I lately writ a letter of about thirty pages to lord treasurer, by way of proposal for an academy, to correct, enlarge, and ascertain the English language. And he and I have named above twenty persons of both parties to be members. I will shortly print the letter, and I hope something will come of it. Your grace sees I am a projector too.

I am, with great respect, my lord,
your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

* It is not easy to conceive upon what grounds. N.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, MAY 20, 1712.

WHEN I had the honour of your grace's letter of March 27, I was lying ill of a cruel disorder, which still pursues me, although not with so much violence; and I hope your grace will pardon me, if you find my letter to be that of one who writes in pain. You see, my lord, how things are altered. The talk of a new governor for Ireland is dropped. The secret is, that the duke of Ormond had a promise of a pension in case he lost his government: but my lord treasurer is so excessively thrifty, that to save charges, he lets the duke keep it; and besides, there are some other circumstances, not proper for a letter, which have great weight in this matter. I count upon it, that whatever governor goes over under this ministry, a new parliament will be called. Yet I was told that the duke of Shrewsbury was pitched on, as a sort of medium between, &c. He is a person of admirable qualities: and if he were somewhat more active, and less timorous in business, no man would be thought comparable to him.

The moderate of the other party seem now content to have a peace, and all our talk and expectations are full of it: but I protest to your grace I know not what to write upon this subject, neither could I tell what to say if I had the honour to be with you. Upon lord Strafford's * coming over,

* His lordship was one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht. N.

the

the stocks are fallen, although I expected, and I thought with reason, that they would rise. There is a trade between some here and some in Holland, of secrets and lies: and there are some among us whose posts let them into an imperfect knowledge of things, which they cannot conceal. This mixture makes up the town-talk, governs the price of stocks, and has often a great deal of truth in it: besides, publick affairs have often so many sudden turns and incidents, that even those behind the curtain can hardly pronounce for a week. I am sensible that I have often deceived your grace with my wise *inuendoes*. Yet, I verily think that my intelligence was very right at the moment I sent it. If I had writ to your grace six days ago, I would have ventured to have given you hopes that a peace would soon appear, and upon conditions wholly surprising and unexpected. I say this to you wholly in confidence; and I know nothing yet to change my opinion, except the desponding talk of the town, for I see nothing yet in the countenances of the ministers. It seems generally agreed that the present dauphin cannot live, and upon that depend many measures to be taken. This afternoon the bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into the grants, *&c.* was thrown out of the house of lords, the voices being equal, which is a great disappointment to the court, and matter of triumph to the other party. But it may possibly be of the worst consequence to the grants next session, when it is probable the ministry will be better settled, and able to procure a majority. I am, with great respect, my lord,

Your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

TO MRS. HILL.

MADAM, JULY, 1712.

I WAS commanded some days ago to do what I had long a mind to, but avoided because I would not offend your prudence, or strain your eyes. But my lord Masham assures me there is no danger of either; and that you have courage enough to read a letter, though it comes from a man, provided it be one of no consequence, which his lordship would insinuate to be my case; but I hope, you will not affront me so highly as to understand it so. There is not a grain of news in this town, or five miles about it, worth sending you; and what we receive from Windsor is full as insignificant, except the accounts of the queen's health, and your housekeeping. We are assured that you keep a constant table, and that your guests leave you with full stomachs and full pockets; that Dr. Arbuthnot sometimes leaves his beloved green cloth, to come and receive your chidings, and pick up your money. We intend shortly to represent your case to my lord treasurer, as what deserves commiseration: but we hope the matter is already settled between his lordship and you, and that you are instructed to be thus magnificent, in order to carry on the cause. We reckon his lordship's life is now secure, since a combination of bandboxes and inkhorns, the engines of late times, were employed in vain to destroy him. He will do me the justice to tell you, that I never fail of toasting you under the name of "the governess of Dunkirk,"

kirk," and that you have the honour to be very particularly in my good graces. My lady Masham still continues in a doubtful state of neither up nor down; and one of her servants told mine, "that they did not expect she would cry out this fortnight." I saw yesterday our brother Hill *, who promises to be more thrifty of his health, and seems to have a pretty good stock of it. I hope you receive no visits from the headache and the spleen: and one who knows your constitution very well, advises you by all means, against sitting in the dusk at your window, or on the ground, leaning on your hand, or at seesaw in your chair. I am, madam, &c.

TO GENERAL HILL †.

SIR, WINDSOR CASTLE, AUG. 12, 1712.

WITH great difficulty, I recovered your present of the finest box in France out of the hands of Mrs. Hill: she allowed her own to be the prettiest, but then mine was the handsomest; and in short,

* An elder brother of the general. He was placed in the Custom-house by the duke of Marlborough, and got promotion there. N.

† This gentleman was brother to lady Masham. In 1710, he had a grant of 1000*l.* a year out of the Post-office; and in 1712, was commander of six regiments at Dunkirk, which place he had taken possession of, as a security for the preliminaries of peace being fulfilled on the part of France. He was afterwards employed on an expedition to Canada; and died June 19, 1735. N.

she

she would part with neither. I pleaded my brotherhood, and got my lord and lady Masham to intercede; and at last she threw it me with a heavy sigh: but now it is in my possession, I wish you had sent a paper of directions how I shall keep it. You that sit at your ease, and have nothing to do but keep Dunkirk, never consider the difficulties you have brought upon me: twenty ladies have threatened to seize or surprise my box; and what are twenty thousand French or Dutch in comparison of those? Mrs. Hill says, it was a very idle thing in you to send such a present to a man who can neither punish nor reward you, since Grub-street is no more; for the parliament has killed all the Muses of Grub-street, who yet, in their last moments, cried out nothing but Dunkirk *. My lord treasurer, who is the most malicious person in the world, says, you ordered a goose to be drawn at the bottom of my box, as a reflection upon the clergy; and that I ought to resent it. But I am not angry at all, and his lordship observes by halves: for the goose is there drawn pecking at a snail, just as I do at him, to make him mend his pace in relation to the publick, although it be hitherto in vain. And besides, Dr. Arbuthnot, who is a scholar, says, "you meant it as a compliment for us both: that I am the goose who saved the Capitol by my cackling: and that his lordship is represented by the snail; because he preserves his country by delays." But my lord Masham is not to be endured: he observed, that

* The universal joy occasioned in England by the surrender of Dunkirk is particularly noticed by Dr. Swift, in his "History of the Four last Years of the Queen;" and some of the Grub-street verses he alludes to were his own. N.

in

in the picture of the inside, which represents a great company dancing, there stands a fool with a cap and bells; and he would needs understand that figure as applied to me. And the worst of it was, that I happened last night to be at my lady duchess of Shrewsbury's ball: where, looking a little singular among so many fine ladies and gentlemen, his lordship came and whispered me to look at my box; which I resented so highly, that I went away in a rage without staying for supper. However, considering of it better, after a night's sleep, I find all this is nothing but envy, and a design to make a quarrel between you and me: but it shall not do so; for I hope your intentions were good, however malice may misrepresent them. And though I am used ill by all the family, who win my money and laugh at me; yet, to vex them more, I will forgive them for your sake; and as soon as I can break loose, will come to Dunkirk for a fortnight, to get a little ease from my many persecutions, by the Harleys, the Mashams, and the Hills: only I intend to change my habit, for fear colonel Killigrew should mistake me for a chimneysweeper. In the mean time, I wish you all success in your government, loyal French subjects, virtuous ladies, little champaign, and much health: and am, with the truest respect and esteem, sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant and brother.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO MR. PRIOR *.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1712.

I WAS equally surprised and vexed to find that by the uncouth way of explaining the queen's sense, you had been led to imagine, that it was intended my lord Lexington should make any difficulty of seeing and complimenting the king of Spain as such. We spent above three hours in penning minutes yesterday upon this head, which was long ago adjusted. I suppose the instructions will be at last clear; but my lord Lexington having been present at the debate, his understanding of the matter will make amends for any dark ambiguous article which may be in them.

Dartmouth is to communicate the queen's orders herein to you, that so you may be able to satisfy the French ministers, and they to prepare the Spanish ministers. However, I will venture to tell you in a few words what I understand is to be the measure of lord Lexington's conduct. As soon as he arrives at Madrid, he will notify his arrival to the secretary of state. He will, when he sees this minister, let him know, "That the queen has sent him thither to compliment the king in her name; to be a witness of the several renunciations and other acts requisite to complete the execution of the article agreed upon as necessary to prevent the union of the two monarchies: That, after this,

* This letter particularly illustrates the negotiations relative to the peace of Utrecht. N.

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he is to proceed to settle such matters of commerce, and other affairs, as are for the mutual interest of both nations, and to take the character of ambassador upon him." My lord will at the same time produce his credentials, and give the secretary a copy of them if he desires it. In this conference, he will farther take notice of the several cessions made by the king of France, in behalf of his grandson to the queen; and will speak of them as points which he looks upon to be concluded. He will likewise give a memorial of them in writing, signed by himself, to the secretary; and expect from him an assent in the king's name, in writing also, and signed by the secretary. This seems natural, civil, and unexceptionable; but any other scheme is absurd, and inconsistent with the rest of all our proceedings.

For God's sake, dear Matt, hide the nakedness of thy country; and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with, to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets.

I have writ in great haste a prodigious long letter to monsieur de Torcy, which, I believe, he will show you; but, for fear he should not, I enclose in this an extract of part of it, which relates to a matter that has given lord treasurer and your humble servant no small trouble in the cabinet. The copy of the plenipotentiaries dispatch of the 2d of September, which I likewise send, will show you how a dispute, now on foot at Utrecht, began; you will observe, their lordships are very warm in it; and I can assure you, we have those who are not a jot cooler.

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The solution of this difficulty must come from you; it is a matter of management and appearance, more than of substance; and the court of France must be less politick than I think them at any time, and more unreasonable than I think them at this time, not to come into a temperament upon a matter unnecessarily started. You must begin by making monsieur de Torcy not only to understand, but own he understands, the proposition which I am sure he remembers I more than once repeated to him, when I was in France, upon various occasions, and which I have again stated as clearly as I am able. The queen can never do any thing, which shall look like a direct restraint on her allies from demanding what they judge necessary; but as long as they act the part which they now do, she can very justly be passive and neuter as to their interests: and if her peace be made before theirs, which she will not delay for them, she can with the same justice leave them to make their own bargain. This is advantage enough for France: and such a one, fairly speaking, as a year ago they would have given more than Tournay to have been sure of: they must not therefore press us to go farther than this; nor do any thing which may seem contradictory to what the queen delivered from the throne *. That speech they have always owned as the plan they submitted to; and it varies but little from that brought hither by Gualtier. In a word, the use which the French will make of the unaccountable obstinacy of the Dutch, and other allies, may in several respects, and particularly for aught I know

* See this speech in Swift's "History of the Four last Years of the Queen," vol. IV. N.

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in this instance of Tournay, give them an opportunity of saving and gaining more than they could have hoped for; and the queen may in the present circumstances contribute passively to this end, but actively she never can in any circumstances.

I think in my own opinion, and I believe speak the queen's upon this occasion, that it were better the French should in the course of the treaty declare, "That whatever they intended to have given the Dutch when the queen spoke from the throne, their conduct has been such, and the situation of affairs so altered, that the king is resolved to have Tournay restored to him." I say, I believe this were better, than to expect that we should consent to an exposition of the queen's words by which her majesty would yield the town up.

Let the conferences begin as soon as they can, I dare say, business will not be very speedily dispatched in them: in the mean time we shall go on to ripen every thing for a conclusion between us and Savoy, and France and Spain; and this is the true point of view, which the French ought to have before their eyes.

You will be very shortly particularly and fully instructed to settle the article of North America, and those points of commerce still undetermined: that done, the ministers may sign at Utrecht, as soon as they can hear from lord Lexington.

My lord Dartmouth writes to you concerning a clamour which our merchants have raised, as if, under pretence of not carrying to Lisbon or Barcelona *des provisions de guerre ou de bouche,* they shall be debarred from their usual traffick of corn and fish, which at whose places there are great demands

mands for, in time of peace as well as war, and without any consideration of the armies. The difficulty as to Lisbon seems to be removed, by the Portugueze submitting to come into the suspension of arms; and he proposes to you an expedient as to Barcelona: but in truth that war must be ended of course now, since the queen supports it no longer, and the Dutch are recalling their fleet from the straits. The duke of Argyll is going immediately now away; and the moment he comes to Minorca, he draws to him every thing belonging to the queen out of Catalonia; the imperial troops must in my opinion that moment submit, and compound for transportation: and when the war is at an end, I think there can be no pretence for quarrelling with us for carrying our goods to the people of the country.

It is now three o'clock in the morning: I have been hard at work all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear much fatigue: excuse therefore the confusedness of this scroll, which is only from Harry to Matt, and not from the secretary to the minister.

Your credentials of minister plenipotentiary will be sent you, together with your full powers, by the next boat: and before duke Hamilton goes, I will move to have you removed to Utrecht; which there will be a natural handle for, as soon as you shall settle the points of commerce, and in doing that have given the last stroke to the finishing the treaty with France.

Make my compliments to madam Teriol; and let her know that I have, I hope, put her affair into a way of being finished to her satisfaction. I have

spoke

spoke very earnestly to Maffei, and have used the proper arguments to him.

Adieu! my pen is ready to drop out of my hand. Believe that no man loves you better, or is more faithfully yours, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

P. S. I had almost forgot to tell you, that the queen is pleased to discharge the mareschal Tallard's parole; which you may assure him, with my compliments, of; and give any signification necessary in form.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, KENSINGTON, SEPT. 30, 1712.

I HAVE two or three times begun letters to your grace, and have torn what I writ, hoping I might send you something decisive about the peace. But all still continues to lie very loose, and I continue to be very desponding, although the people in affairs laugh at me for it. I have one plain maxim in dealing with those, who have more cunning, and less honesty than myself, which is, what we call keeping the staff in my own hand, and contriving that they shall trust me rather than I them. A man may reason until he is weary upon this proceeding of the Dutch. The soldiers tell me that the duke of Ormond could not possibly take possession of Dunkirk, since the foreign troops have refused to march, and that the states will not suffer us to

go through their towns. But I had a whisper from one who should know best, "that Dunkirk might now have been ours, if right methods had been taken." And another great man said to a friend of mine, about a fortnight ago, "that the least wrong step on that side the water might have very ill consequences at this juncture." Mean-time, the discontented party seems full of hopes, and many of the court-side, beside myself, desponding enough. The necessity of laying the proposals before the parliament drew us into all this; for now we are in a manner pinned down, and cannot go back an inch with any good grace: so that if the French play us foul, I dread the effects, which are too visible to doubt *. And on the other side, if the peace goes smoothly on, I cannot but think that some severe inquiries will be made; and I believe, upon very manifest grounds. If there be any secret in this matter of Dunkirk, it must be in very few hands; and those who most converse with men at the helm, are, I am confident, very much in the dark. Some people go so far as to think that the Dutch will hinder even the English forces under the duke of Ormond from going by the French country to Dunkirk; but I cannot be of that opinion. We suppose a few days will decide this matter; and I believe, your grace will agree, that there was never a more nice conjuncture of affairs; however, the court appears to be very resolute: several changes have been made, and more are daily expected. The Dutch are grown so unpopular, that, I believe, the queen might have addresses to stand by her against them with lives and fortunes.

* It should be—'too visible to *be doubted of*.' S.

I had

I had your grace's letter of May 29, written in the time of your visiting; from which, I hope, you are returned with health and satisfaction.

The difficulties in the peace, by the accidents in the Bourbon family, are, as your grace observes, very great, and what indeed our ministers chiefly apprehend. But we think Philip's renouncing to be an effectual expedient; not out of any regard he would have for it, but because it will be the interest of every prince of the blood in France to keep him out, and because the Spaniards will never assist him to unite the two kingdoms.

I am in hopes yet that your grace may pay your treat; for it is yet four weeks to November, at least I believe we shall be happy, or ruined, before that time.

It is certain that there is something in what people say ..... But the court is so luckily constituted at present, that every man thinks the chief trust cannot be any where else so well placed; neither do I know above one man that would take it, and it is a great deal too soon for him to have such thoughts.

I humbly thank your grace for your concern about my health: I have still the remainder of some pains, which has partly occasioned my removing hither about three weeks ago; I was recommended to country air, and chose this, because I could pass my time more agreeably near my friends at court. We think the queen will go to Windsor in three weeks; and, I believe, I shall be there most of the time I stay in England, which I intend until toward the end of summer.

My lord treasurer has often promised he will advance my design of an academy *; so have my lord keeper, and all the ministers; but they are now too busy to think of any thing beside what they have upon the anvil. My lord treasurer and I have already pitched upon twenty members of both parties; but perhaps it may all come to nothing.

If things continue as they are another session, perhaps your grace may see the bill of resuming the grants † carried on with a great deal more rigour than it lately was. It was only desired that the grantees should pay six years purchase, and settle the remainder on them by act of parliament, and those grants are now worse than other lands by more years purchase than six; so that, in effect, they would have lost nothing. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY ‡ AND MRS. RAMSAY.

CLIFDEN, MONDAY §.

I HAVE had great satisfaction in the favour of your letter, though disappointed, since not occasi-

* For fixing a standard to the English language. N.

† This bill was negatived. N.

‡ This lady had been mistress to king William III. H.

§ Indorsed '1712, I suppose.' Probably in September. See Journal to Stella, Sept. 18, 1712. N.

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oned by yourself. When one is too quick, misjudging commonly follows. At first I feared Mr. Collier was taken with a fit of an apoplexy: the next line I read, I wished he had one. If I did not apprehend, by your knowing me but a little, that I might grow troublesome where I distinguished, you should not want any conveniency to bring you hither to Mrs. Ramsay and me, who are both, without compliment, truly mortified, intending ever to be, sir,

Your sincere humble servants,

E. ORKNEY.
ELIZ. RAMSAY.

We design to be at Windsor on Wednesday, where I hope you will meet with me in the drawing room, to tell me when you can dine with us.

FROM THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY.

MONDAY MORNING *.

I AM sure you are very ill-natured (I would not have been so cross to you) to have known Mr. Lewis and me so long, and not to have made us acquainted sooner, when you know too that I have been in search of a reasonable conversation. I have no way to excuse you but doubting his to be so agreeable at a second meeting, which I desire you will make when it is most convenient to both. It is not from custom I say I am extremely, sir,

Your humble servant,

E. ORKNEY.

* Indorsed '1712, I believe.' N.

When you read this, I fancy you will think, what does she write to me? I hate a letter as much as my lord treasurer does a petition.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, OCT. 21, 1712.

SINCE I had the honour of your grace's letter of July 29, which found me at Windsor, I have been extremely out of order with a giddiness in my head, which pursued me until very lately; but, by an uneasy course of physick, I hope I have in some sort overcome it.

We are now in very near expectation of a peace; and your grace, I hope, will believe it as good a one as the circumstances of things would allow. I confess I agree with your grace, that the great difficulty was about the danger of France and Spain being united under one king. To my knowledge, all possible means have been taken to secure that matter: and yet, after all, the weakest side will be there. Renunciations by France have very justly so little credit, that I do not wonder so little weight is laid on them. But Spain, we are sure, will, for their own sakes, enter into all securities to prevent that union; and all the allies must be guarantees. If you still object that some danger still remains, what is to be done? Your grace is altogether misinformed, if you think that this is at all the difficulty which so long made the Dutch untractable. It was nothing less:

less: neither have they once mentioned, during all the negotiation at Utrecht, one syllable of getting Spain out of the Bourbon family, or into that of Austria, as the chief men have assured me not three days ago. Buys offered last winter to ease us immediately of the trouble we were in by lord Nottingham's vote, if we would consent to let them share with us in the advantages we had stipulated with France; which advantages, however, did by no means clash with Holland, and were only conditional, if peace should ensue. But, my lord, we know farther, that the Dutch made offers to treat with France, before we received any from thence; and were refused, upon the ill usage they gave Mr. Torcy at the Hague, and the abbé de Polignac afterward at Gertruydenberg: and we know that Torcy would have been forced to apply to them again, if, after several refusals, we had not hearkened to their overtures. What I tell your grace is infallibly true; and care shall be taken very soon to satisfy the world in this, and many other particulars at large, which ought to be known: for, the kingdom is very much in the dark, after all the pains hitherto taken to inform it. Your grace's conjectures are very right, that a general peace would not be for our interest, if we had made ours with France. And I remember a certain great man used to say two months ago, "Fight on, fight on, my merry men all." I believe likewise, that such a peace would have happened, if the Dutch had not lately been more compliant: upon which our ministers told those of France, that since the States were disposed to submit to the queen, her majesty must enter into their interests; and I believe they have as good conditions as we ever intended they

should

should. Tournay, I hope, will be yielded to them: and Lisle we never designed they should have. The emperor will be used as he deserves; and having paid nothing for the war, shall get nothing by the peace. We are most concerned (next to our regard to Holland) for Savoy *, and France for Bavaria †. I believe we shall make them both kings, by the help of Sardinia and Sicily. But I know not how plans may alter every day. The queen's whole design, as your grace conjectures, is to act the part of a mediator; and our advantages, too many to insert here, must be owned very great.

As for an academy to correct and settle our language, lord treasurer talked of it often very warmly; but I doubt, is yet too busy, until the peace be over. He goes down to Windsor on Friday, to be chosen of the garter, with five more lords.

I know nothing of promises of any thing intended for myself; but, I thank God, I am not very warm in my expectations, and know courts too well to be surprised at disappointments; which, however, I shall have no great reason to fear, if I gave my thoughts any trouble that way, which, without affectation, I do not; although I cannot expect to be believed when I say so.

I am, *&c.*

JON. SWIFT.

* Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was made king of Sardinia by this treaty. N.

† All bad policy, as things then stood. H.

FROM THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY.

LONDON, NOV. 21, 1712.

THIS key will open treasures; but vain in me to know them *. Your convenience is my satisfaction. If I can or may read what will be in this table, it ought and shall be my happiness. You must discern this comes from the most interested joiner that ever made a thing of this nature. Peruse narrowly; and what faults you find, they shall be mended in every particular, to the utmost capacity of, sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

E. ORKNEY.

TO THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY.

MADAM, NOV. 21, 1712.

WHEN, upon parting with your ladyship, you were pleased to tell me I should find you, present † at home, natural justice prompted me to resolve, that the first use I made of it should be in paying acknowledgments to my benefactor. But, when I opened the writing-table, which I must now call mine, I found you had neither sent pens, ink, nor paper, sufficient for such an undertaking. But I

* Indorsed thus: "Sent with a present of a writing-table, seal, paper, wax, &c." N.

† See the preceding letter. N.

ought

ought to tell your ladyship in order, that I first got there a much more valuable thing: and I cannot do greater honour to my scrutoire, than to assure your ladyship that your letter is the first thing I have put in it, and shall be the last I will ever take out. I must tell your ladyship, that I am this moment under a very great concern. I was fully convinced that I should write with a new spirit by the influence of the materials you sent me; but it is quite otherwise: I have not a grain of invention, whether out of the confusion which attends us when we strive too much to acquit ourselves, or whether your pens and ink are sullen, and think themselves disgraced, since they have changed their owner. I heartily thank your ladyship, for making me a present that looks like a sort of establishment. I plainly see, by the contrivance, that if you were first minister, it would have been a cathedral. As it is, you have more contributed towards fixing me, than all the ministry together: for it is difficult to travel with this equipage, and it will be impossible to travel or live without it. You have an undoubted title to whatever papers this table shall ever contain (except your letter) and I desire you will please to have another key made for it; that when the court shall think fit to give me a room worth putting it into, your ladyship may come and search it whenever you please.

I beg your ladyship to join in laughing with me, at my unreasonable vanity, when I wished that the motto written about the wax was a description of yourself. But, if I am disappointed in that, your ladyship will be so in all the rest; even this ink will never be able to convey your ladyship's note as it ought.

ought. The paper will contain no wonders, but when it mentions you; neither is the seal any otherwise an emblem of my life, than by the deep impression your ladyship has made, which nothing but my death can wear out. By the inscription about the pens, I fear there is some mistake; and that your ladyship did not design them for me. However, I will keep them until you can find the person you intended should have them, and who will be able to dispose of them according to your predictions. I cannot find that the workman you employed and directed, has made the least mistake: but there are four implements wanting. The two first I shall not name, because an odd superstition forbids us to accept them, from our friends; the third is a spunge, which the people long have given so ill a reputation to, that I vow it shall be no gift of your ladyship: the last is a flat ivory instrument, used in folding up letters, which I insist you must provide.

See, madam, the first fruits this unlucky present of yours has produced. It is but giving a fiddle to a scraper, or a pestle and mortar to an apothecary, or a tory pamphlet to Mrs. Ramsay. Nothing is so great a discouragement to generous persons as the fear of being worried by acknowledgments. Besides, your ladyship is an unsufferable kind of giver, making every present fifty times the value, by the circumstances and manner. And I know people in the world, who would not oblige me so much, at the cost of a thousand pounds, as you have done at that of twenty pounds; which, I must needs tell you, is an unconscionable way of dealing, and whereof, I believe, nobody alive is so guilty as yourself.

yourself. In short, you deceive my eyes, and corrupt my judgment: nor am I now sure of any thing, but that of being, &c. JON. SWIFT.

FROM THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY.

NOV. 22, 1712.

YOU are extremely obliging to write how well you take my whim, in telling my true thoughts of your mind: for I was ashamed when I reflected, and hoped I should see you soon after expressing the value I have of you in an uncommon way. But this I write with assurance that I am, very sincerely, sir,

Your obliged humble servant, E. ORKNEY.

FROM MR. HARRISON *.

UTRECHT, DEC. 16, 1712.

YOUR thanks of the 25th of November, sir, come before their time; the condition of the obligation

* This letter is endorsed, "Th. Harrison, esq. secretary of the embassy; since dead, the same year." But the writer's name was *William*. He was a young gentleman high in esteem, and (as Swift expresses it) "a little pretty fellow, with a great deal of wit, good-sense, and good-nature;" a fellow of New College, Oxford; and had no other income than 40*l.* a year as tutor to one of the duke of Queensberry's sons. In this employment he fortunately attracted the favour of Dr. Swift, whose generous solicitations with Mr. St. John obtained for him the reputable employment

being that you should receive twelve shirts, which number shall be completed by the first proper occasion. Your kind letter, however, is extremely seasonable; and (next to a note from the treasury) has proved the most vivifying cordial in the world. If you please to send me now and then as much of the same as will lie upon the top of your pen, I should be contented to take sheets for shirts to the end of the chaper.

Since you are so good as to enter into my affairs, I shall trouble you with a detail of them, as well as of my conduct since I left England; which, in my opinion, you have a right to inspect, and approve or condemn as you think fit. During my state of probation with the earl of Strafford, it was my endeavour to recommend myself to his excellency rather by fidelity, silence, and an entire submission, than by an affectation to shine in his service: And

ment of secretary to lord Raby, afterwards earl of Strafford, and then ambassador at the Hague. Mr. Tickell has mentioned him with respect in his "Prospect of Peace:"

"That much-lov'd youth, whom Utrecht's walls confine,
"To Bristol's praises shall his Strafford's join."

He did not long enjoy his rising fortune. Being dispatched to London with the Barrier treaty, he died. Feb. 14, 1712-13. See the Journal to Stella of that and the following day, where Swift laments his loss with the most unaffected sincerity; and Dr. Young, in the beautiful close of an "Epistle to Lord Lansdowne," most pathetically bewails his loss. He was the author of "Woodstock Park," inscribed to the lord chancellor Cowper, in "Dodsley's Collection;" and of several small poems inserted in Nichols's "Select Collection," 1780, vol. IV. p. 180, &c. which are all the poetical writings that are known of this excellent young man; who figured both as a humourist and a politician in the fifth volume of the Tatler, of which (under the patronage of Bolingbroke, Henley, and Swift) he was professedly the editor. See the sixth volume of this edition of Swift's Works. N.

whatever difficulties, whatever discouragements, fell in my way, I think it appears that they were surmounted in the end; and my advancement followed upon it sooner than I expected; another would say, much sooner than I deserved, which I should easily agree to, were it not, that I flatter myself there is some merit in the behaviour I kept, when the hopes and temptation of being preferred glittered in my eyes. All the world knows upon what foot Mr. Watkins * thought himself with my lord Strafford ‡; and though all the world does not know what I am going to tell you, yet Mr. Watkins does on one hand, and my lord Strafford on the other, that all the credit I had with either, was heartily, and without reserve, employed to make matters easy; and to cultivate in my humble station, that good understanding, which our court desired should be between them. I had my reasons for this, and such perhaps as flowed from an inclination to promote my own interest. I knew as well as any man living almost, how much Mr. Watkins was valued by my lord Bolingbroke and others. I foresaw the danger of standing in competition with him, if that case should happen: and, to tell you the truth, I did not think myself ripe in regard of interest at home, or of any service I could pretend to have done abroad, to succeed Mr. Watkins in so good an employment. Above all, I protest to you, sir, that if I know my own heart, I am capable of suffering the utmost extremities rather than violate the infinite duty and gratitude I owe my lord Bolingbroke, by doing an ill office to a person honoured with

* Henry Watkins, esq. late secretary. H.

‡ Thomas, earl of Strafford, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to the States General. H.

such

such particular marks of his lordship's esteem. I might add to this, that I really loved Mr. Watkins; and I beg you, sir, to urge him to the proof, whether my whole behaviour was not such, as might justify the warmest professions I can make of that kind. After all this, how comes it, that he, either in raillery or good earnest, accuses me of having any resentment against him? By word of mouth when he left us, by letters so long as he allowed me to correspond with him, and by all the people that ever went from Utrecht to Flanders, have I importuned him for the continuance of his friendship; and, perhaps, even in his absence (if he pleases to reflect) given him a very essential proof of mine. If any body has thought it worth their while to sow division between us, I wish he thought it worth his to let me into the secret; and nothing, he may be sure, shall be wanting on my side to defeat a stratagem, which, for aught I know, may end in the starving of his humble servant.

Which leads me naturally to the second thing proposed to be spoken to in my text; namely, my circumstances: for between you and me, sir, I apprehend the treasury will issue out no money on my account, till they know what is due on that of Mr. Watkins. And if he has any pretensions, I have none, that I know of, but what are as precarious to me, as a stiver I gave away but now to a beggar, was to him. Is it possible that Mr. Watkins can demand the pay of a commission, which is, by the queen herself, actually superseded, during his absence from his post? Or is it not as plainly said in mine, that I am her majesty's secretary during such his absence, as in his that he was so, while

while he resided here? If I must be crushed, sir, for God's sake let some reason be alledged for it; or else an ingenuous confession made, that *stat pro ratione voluntas.* If you can fix Mr. Watkins to any final determination on this subject, you will do me a singular service, and I shall take my measures accordingly. Though I know your power, I cannot help distrusting it on this occasion. Before I conclude, give me leave to put you in mind of beating my thanks into my lord Bolingbroke's ears, for his late generosity, to the end that his lordship may be wearied out of the evil habit he has got, of heaping more obligations and goodness on those he is pleased to favour, than their shoulders are able to bear. For my own part, I have so often thanked his lordship, that I have now no more ways left to turn my thoughts; and beg if you have any right good compliments neat and fine by you, that you will advance the necessary, and place them, with the other helps you have given me, to my account; which I question not but I shall be able to acknowledge at one and the same time, *ad Græcas calendas.*

In the mean time, I shall do my best to give you just such hints as you desire by the next post; though I cannot but think there are some letters in the office, which would serve your turn a good deal better than any thing I can tell you about the people at the Hague. Your access there abundantly prevents my attempting to write you any news from hence. And I assure you, sir, you can write me none from England (however uneasy my circumstances are) which will be so agreeable as that of your long-expected advancement. It grieves me to the

the soul, that a person, who has been so instrumental to the raising of me from obscurity and distress, should not be yet set above the power of fortune, and the malice of those enemies your real merit has created. I beg, dear sir, the continuance of your kind care and inspection over me; and that you would in all respects command, reprove, or instruct me, as a father; for I protest to you, sir, I do, and ever shall, honour and regard you with the affection of a son.

TO THE DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

MADAM, DEC. 20, 1712.

ANY other person, of less refinement and prudence than myself, would be at a loss how to thank your grace, upon the surprise of coming home last night, and finding two pictures * where only one was demanded. But I understand your grace's malice, and do here affirm you to be the greatest prude upon earth. You will not so much as let your picture be alone in a room with a man, no not with a clergyman, and a clergyman of five-and-forty: and therefore resolved my lord duke should accompany it, and keep me in awe, that I might not presume to look too often upon it. For my own part, I begin already to repent that I ever begged your

* "The duchess of Ormond promised me her picture; and coming home to-night, I found her's and the duke's both in my chamber." Journal to Stella, Dec. 18, 1712. N.

grace's

grace's picture; and could almost find in my heart to send it you back: for, although it be the most beautiful sight I ever beheld, except the original, yet the veneration and respect it fills me with, will always make me think I am in your grace's presence; will hinder me from saying and writing twenty idle things that used to divert me: will set me labouring upon majestick, sublime ideas, at which I have no manner of talent; and will make those who come to visit me, think I am grown, on the sudden, wonderful stately and reserved. But, in life we must take the evil with the good; and it is one comfort, that I know how to be revenged. For the sight of your grace's resemblance will perpetually remind me of paying my duty to your person; which will give your grace the torment, and me the felicity, of a more frequent attendance.

But, after all, to deal plainly with your grace, your picture (and I must say the same of my lord duke's) will be of very little use, farther than to let others see the honour you are pleased to do me: for all the accomplishments of your mind and person are so deeply printed in the heart, and represent you so lively to my imagination, that I should take it for a high affront, if you believed it in the power of colours to refresh my memory: almost as high a one, as if your grace should deny me the justice of being, with the most profound respect and gratitude, madam,

Your grace's, &c.

JON. SWIFT.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, JAN. 3, 1712-13.

SINCE I had the honour of your grace's letter, we have had a dead time of news and politicks; and I make a conscience of writing to you without something that will recompense the trouble of reading. I cannot but grant that your grace, who are at a distance, and argue from your own wisdom and general observations and reading, is likely to be more impartial than I, who, in spite of my resolutions and opinion to the contrary, am forced to converse only with one side of the world, which fastens prejudices to me, notwithstanding all I can do to avoid them. Your grace has certainly hit upon the weak side of our peace; but I do not find you have prescribed any remedies. For, that of limiting France to a certain number of ships and troops, was, I doubt, not to be compassed. While that mighty kingdom remains under one monarch, it will be always in some degree formidable to its neighbours. But we flatter ourselves it is likely to be less so than ever, by the concurrence of many circumstances too long to trouble you with. But, my lord, what is to be done? I will go so far with your grace as to tell you, that some of our friends are of opinion with the other party, that if this last campaign had gone on with the conjunction of the British troops, France might have been in danger of being driven to great extremes. Yet I confess to you, at the same time, that if I had been first minister, I

should have advised the queen to pursue her measures toward a peace.

Some accidents and occasions have put it in my way to know every step of this treaty better, I think, than any man in England. And I do assert to your grace, that if France had been closely pushed this campaign, they would, upon our refusal, have made offers to Holland, which the republick would certainly have accepted; and in that case the interests of England would have been wholly laid aside, as we saw it three years ago at the Hague and Gertruydenberg. The marshal d'Uxilles and Mesnager, two of the French plenipotentiaries, were wholly inclined to have begun by the Dutch; but the third, abbé de Polignac, who has most credit with monsieur Torcy, was for beginning by England.

There was a great faction in France by this proceeding: and it was a mere personal resentment, in the French king and monsieur Torcy, against the States, which hindered them from sending the first overture there. And I believe your grace will be convinced, by considering that the demands of Holland might be much more easily satisfied, than those of Britain. The States were very indifferent about the article of Spain being in the Bourbon family, as monsieur Buys publickly owned when he was here, and among others to myself. They valued not the demolition of Dunkirk, the frontier of Portugal, nor the security of Savoy. They abhorred the thoughts of our having Gibraltar and Minorca, nor cared what became of our dominions in North America. All they had at heart was the sovereignty of Flanders, under the name of a barrier, and to stipulate what they could for the em-

peror, to make him easy under their encroachments. I can farther assure your grace, before any proposals were sent here from France, and ever since, until within these few months, the Dutch have been endeavouring constantly, by private intrigues with that court, to undermine us, and put themselves at the head of a treaty of peace; which is a truth that perhaps the world may soon be informed in, with several others that are little known. Besides, my lord, I doubt whether you have sufficiently reflected on the condition of this kingdom, and the possibility of pursuing the war at that ruinous rate. This argument is not the weaker for being often urged. Besides, France is likely to have a long minority; or, if not, perhaps to be engaged in a civil war. And I do not find that in publick affairs, human wisdom is able to make provisions for futurity, which are not liable to a thousand accidents. We have done all we can; and for the rest, *curent posteri.*

Sir William Temple's Memoirs, which you mentioned, is his first part *, and was published twenty years ago; it is chiefly the treaty of Nimeguen, and was so well known, that I could hardly think your grace has not seen it.

I am in some doubt whether a fall from a horse be suitable to the dignity of an archbishop. It is one of the chief advantages in a great station, that one is exempt from common accidents of that kind. The late king † indeed got a fall; but his majesty

* That is, the first part existing; for the first part written was destroyed by sir William Temple himself: of the third, Dr. Swift was the editor. See his Preface to it in vol. II. of this Edition. N.

† King William III. who died by a fall from his horse. N.

was a fox-hunter. I question whether you can plead any precedent to excuse you; and therefore, I hope you will commit no more such errours: and in the mean time, I heartily congratulate with your grace, that I can rally you upon this accident.

I am in some fear that our peace will hardly be concluded in several weeks, by reason of a certain incident that could not be foreseen; neither can I tell whether the parliament will sit before the conclusion of the peace; because some persons differ in their politicks about the matter. If others were no wiser than I, your session should not be deferred upon that account.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Your grace's most dutiful and humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM LORD BOLINGBROKE.

THURSDAY MORNING, TWO O'CLOCK,
JAN. 5, 1712-13.

THOUGH I have not seen, yet I did not fail to write to lord treasurer. *Non tua res agitur*, dear Jonathan. It is the treasurer's cause *; it is my cause; it is every man's cause, who is embarked on our bottom. Depend upon it, that I never will

* This seems to relate to the promotion of Dr. Swift, respecting which lord Bolingbroke, in one of his letters, charges the lord treasurer with being extremely backward. See also the Journal to Stelia, April 7, 1713. Dr. Swift was made Dean of St. Patrick's on the 23d of that month. N.

neglect

neglect any opportunity of showing that true esteem, that sincere affection, and honest friendship for you, which fill the breast of your faithful friend,

BOLINGBROKE.

TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

MY LORD, JANUARY 20, 1712-13.

I WOULD myself have delivered the answer I sent yesterday to your grace at court by Dr. Arbuthnot, if I had not thought the right of complaining to be on my side: for, I think it was my due, that you should have immediately told me whatever you had heard amiss of my conduct to your grace. When I had the honour to be first known to those in the ministry, I made it an express condition, "that whoever did me ill offices, they should inform me of what was said, and hear my vindication; that I might not be mortified with countenances estranged of the sudden, and be at a loss for the cause." And I think, there is no person alive, whose favour or protection I would purchase at that expense. I could not speak to the disadvantage of your grace without being ungrateful (which is an ill word), since you were pleased voluntarily to make so many professions of favour to me for some years past; and your being a duke and a general would have swayed me not at all in my respect for your person, if I had not thought you to abound in qualities, which I wish were easier to

to be found in those of your rank. I have indeed sometimes heard what your grace was told I reported; but as I am a stranger to coffee-houses, so it is a great deal below me to spread coffee-house reports. This accusation is a little the harder upon me, because I have always appeared fond of your grace's character; and have, with great industry, related several of your generous actions, on purpose to remove the imputation of the only real fault * (for I say nothing of common frailties) which I ever heard laid to your charge. I confess, I have often thought that Homer's description of Achilles bore some resemblance to your grace, but I do not remember that ever I said so. At the same time, I think few men were ever born with nobler qualities to fulfil and adorn every office of a subject, a friend, and a protector, *&c.*

FROM ROBERT HUNTER, ESQ.†

NEW YORK, MARCH 1, 1712-13.

I THINK I am indebted to you for two letters, and should have continued so, had it not been for the apprehension of your putting a wrong con-

* In his "Memoirs relating to the Changes in the Queen's Ministry," Dr. Swift speaks of the duke of Argyll's "unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him." N.

† Brigadier Hunter, governor of New York and New Jersey, who was afterwards appointed governor and captain general of Jamaica, in the room of the duke of Portland, who died there, July 4, 1726. H.

struction

struction upon my neglect. My friends being few in number, I would not willingly, or by my own fault, neglect nor lose those I have. The true cause is this. My unhappy circumstances have so soured me, that whatever I write must be vinegar and gall to a man of your mirth. For the better understanding of which, be pleased to read them in the words of one of my most renowned predecessors: *Quando pensè venir a este govierno a comer caliente, y a bever frio, y a recrear il cuerpo entre sabanas de Olanda, sobre colchones de pluma, he venido a hazer penitencia, como se fuera Ermetanno, y como no la hago de me volontad, penso que al cabo al cabo, me ha de uevar el diablo.* This worthy was indeed but a type of me, of which I could fully convince you by an exact parallel between our administrations and circumstances, which I shall reserve to another opportunity.

The truth of the matter is this: I am used like a dog, after having done all that is in the power of man to deserve a better treatment, so that I am now quite jaded. *Malè vehi malo alio gubernante, quàm tam malis rectoribus bene gubernare.*

The approaching peace will give leisure to the ministry to think of proper remedies for the distracted state of all the provinces; but of this more particularly, the importance of it by its situation being greater, and the danger by their conduct more imminent than that of the rest. I have done my duty in representing their proceedings, and warning them of the consequences; and there I leave it. *Neque tam me* ελπιστια *consolatur ut antea quam* αδιαφορια, *quâ nullâ in re tam utor quàm in hâc civili et publicâ.* I have purchased a seat for a bishop, and

and by orders from the society have given direction to prepare it for his reception. You once upon a day gave me hopes of seeing you there. It would be to me no small relief to have so good a friend to complain to. What it would be to you to hear me when you could not help me, I know not. *Cætera desunt*—for the post cannot stay. Adieu.

I am very sincerely your's,

R. HUNTER.

FROM THE SAME.

NEW YORK, MARCH 14, 1712-13.

QUONORGH quaniou diadadega generoghqua aguegon tchitchenágareé; or, lest you should not have your Iroquoise Dictionary at hand, "Brother, I honour you and all your tribe;" though that is to be taken *cum grano salis*; for one of them has done me much harm. God reward him, *&c.* For that, and what you want to know besides relating to me, I refer you to the bearer, Mr. Sharp, our chaplain; a very worthy, ingenious, and conscientious clergyman. I wrote to you some time ago by a merchantship, and therein gave you some hints of my sufferings, which are not diminished since that time. In hopes of a better settlement, I wished for your company. Until that comes, I can contribute to nothing but your spleen. Here is the finest air to live upon in the universe; and if our trees and birds could speak, and our assemblymen be silent, the

the finest conversation too. *Fert omnia tellus*, but not for me. For you must understand, according to the custom of our country, the sachems are of the poorest of the people. I have got the wrong side of sir Polidore's office; a great deal to do, and nothing to receive. In a word, and to be serious at last, I have spent three years of life in such torment and vexation, that nothing in life can ever make amends for it. *Tu interim sis lætus, et memor nostrùm. Vale.*

R. H.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, MARCH 28, 1713.

ALTHOUGH your humour of delaying, which is a good deal in fashion, might serve me for authority and example in not sooner acknowledging your grace's letter, I shall not make that use of it; but naturally tell you, that the public delay has been the cause of mine. We have lived almost these two months past by the week, expecting that parliament would meet, and the queen tell them that the peace was signed. But unforeseen difficulties have arisen, partly by some mistakes in our plenipotentiaries, as well as of those of France, too long to trouble your grace with, since we now reckon all will be at an end; and the queen has sent new powers to Utrecht, which her ministers there must obey, I think, or be left without excuse.

excuse. The peace will be signed with France, Holland, the emperor, Savoy, Portugal, and England: but Spain has yet no minister at Utrecht, the Dutch making difficulties about the duke D'Ossune's passports; but the marquis de Montellion will soon begin his journey; at least he tells me so. However, it is of no great moment whether Spain comes in now, or a month hence; and the parliament will be satisfied with the rest. People here have grumbled at those prorogations until they are weary: but they are not very convenient, considering how many funds are out, and how late it is in the year. They think of taking off two shillings in the pound from the land-tax; which I always argued earnestly against: but the court has a mind to humour the country gentlemen, and the thing is popular enough; but then we must borrow upon new funds, which it will be of the last difficulty to invent or to raise. The other party are employed in spreading a report most industriously, that the lord treasurer intends, after the peace, to declare for the whigs. They have spread it in Scotland, to prepare people for the next election; and Mr. Annesley told me the other day at my lord steward's, that he had heard I writ the same to my friends in Ireland; which, as it is wholly without ground, so the fact is what I never had the least belief of, although your lordship is somewhat of his grace's mind, in not refusing to converse with his greatest enemies: and therefore he is censured, as you say you are, upon the same account. And to those who charge him with it, (as some are free enough to do it) he only says, his friends ought to trust him; and I have some reason to believe, that after

after a peace, the direct contrary will appear. For my own part, I entirely agree with your grace, that a free man ought not to confine his converse to any one party; neither would I do so, if I were free; but I am not, and perhaps much less is a great minister in such a juncture as this. Among many qualities I have observed in the treasurer, there is one which is something singular, that he will be under an imputation, how wrong soever, without the pains of clearing himself to his nearest friends, which is owing to great integrity, great courage, or great contempt of censure. I know he has abundance of the two last, and I believe he has the first.

Your grace's observations on the French dexterity in negotiation, as well as their ill faith, are certainly right; but let both be as great as possible, we must treat with them one time or other; and if ministers will not be upon their guard against such notorious managers, they are altogether inexcusable. But I do assure your grace, that as it has fallen in my way to know more of the steps of this whole treaty, than perhaps any one man beside, I cannot see that any thing in the power of human prudence, under many difficult conjunctures, has been omitted. We have been forced to conceal the best side, which I agree has been unfortunate and unpopular; but you will please to consider that this way of every subject interposing their sentiments upon the management of foreign negotiations, is a very new thing among us: and the suffering it has been thought, in the opinion of wise men, too great a strain upon the prerogative; especially giving a detail of particulars, which, in the variety of events, cannot be ascertained during the

the course of a treaty.—I could easily answer the objection of your grace's friends in relation to the Dutch, and why they made those difficulties at the Hague and Gertruydenberg. And when the whole story of these two last intriguing years comes to be published, the world will have other notions of our proceedings. This perhaps will not be long untold, and might already have been, if other people had been no wiser than I. After all, my lord, I grant that from a distant view of things, abundance of objections may be raised against many parts of our conduct. But the difficulties which gave room to these objections are not seen, and perhaps some of them will never appear; neither may it be convenient they should. If in the end it appears that we have made a good bargain for you, we hope you will take it without entering too nicely into the circumstances. I will not undertake to defend our proceedings against any man who will not allow this postulatum, that it was impossible to carry on the war any longer; which, whoever denies, either has not examined the state of the nation with respect to its debts, or denies it from the spirit of party. When a friend of mine objected this to lord Nottingham, he freely confessed it was a thing he had never considered. But, however, he would be against any peace without Spain; and why? because he was not privy seal. But then, why does he vote with the whigs in every thing else, although peace has no concern? because he was not privy seal. I hope my lord, we shall in time unriddle you many a dark problem, and let you see that faction, rage, rebellion, revenge, and ambition, were deeply rooted in the hearts of those who have been the

great

great obstructors of the queen's measures, and of the kingdom's happiness; and if I am not mistaken, such a scene may open, as will leave the present age and posterity little room to doubt who were the real friends and real enemies of their country *. At the same time I know nothing is so rash as predicting upon the events of publick councils; and I see many accidents very possible to happen which may soon defeat all my wise conjectures. I am, my lord,

Your grace's most dutiful,
and most humble obedient servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. PRIOR †.

PARIS, APRIL 8, 1713.

PRAY take this word writ after our packet is closed, and the messenger staying for it, as an equivalent for your dispatches at midnight when the writer was half asleep. Hang me if I know how to go on, though I am in a country where every body does not only write letters but print them. Our great affair goes on very successfully. We transmit the Spanish treaty, concluded at Madrid, for your approbation in England, and transmission to Utrecht; after which I think, *pax sit* will become authentick Latin: after which, I

* See his "History of the Four last Years of the Queen." N.

† At that time plenipotentiary to France. H.

suppose,

suppose, our society will flourish, and I shall have nothing to do but to partake of that universal protection, which it will receive. In the mean time, pray give my great respects to our brethren *: and tell them that, while in hopes of being favoured, they are spending their own money, I am advancing my interest in the French language, and forgetting my own mother tongue. But we shall have time enough to perfect our English when we have done with other matters. I want mightily to hear from lord treasurer. Tell him so. I owe brother Arbuthnot a letter. Excuse my not writing to him, till I know what to say. I cannot find Vanhomrigh † since he brought me your letter. I have a rarity of a book to send you by the first fair occasion. It makes but little of the English wit, "The Guardian;" but, possibly, I do not enter into his design. Let lord Bolingbroke know, I love him mightily; and pray do you as much for Dick Skelton. Adieu, my good friend.

I am very truly,

Your obedient and faithful servant,

M. PRIOR.

* The sixteen. See note to a letter from lord Harley to Swift, dated July 17, 1714. H.

† One of the brothers of Vanessa. See the letter to miss Esther Vanhomrigh, dated July 8, 1713. H.

FROM EARL POULETT *.

APRIL, SUNDAY AFTERNOON.

I WAS called away presently after chapel, upon some business which hindered my going up stairs at St. James's, and occasions Dr. Swift the trouble of this, to make my excuse for not returning the paper, which I here send you; and though it is not in my power to serve you in any proportion to my unfeigned respects for you, yet I would not be wanting, on my part, in any opportunity where I can, to express myself,

Sir, your most faithful humble servant,

POULETT.

TO THE REV. MR. WILLIAM DRAPER, DEAN, NEAR BASINGSTOKE, HAMPSHIRE †.

SIR, LONDON, APRIL 13, 1713.

I AM ashamed to tell you how ill a philosopher I am, and that a very ill situation of my affairs for three weeks past, made me utterly incapable of answering your obliging letter, and thanking you for your most agreeable copy of verses. The prints

* Indorsed 'Lord Steward, 1713.' N.

† First printed in Mr. Seward's Biographiana, 1799, from the original in the possession of that excellent instructor of youth, the Rev. Dr Valpy, of Reading. N.

will

will tell you that I am condemned again to live in Ireland; and all that the court and ministry did for me was to let me choose my situation in the country where I am banished. I could not forbear showing both your letter and verses to our great men, as well as to the men of wit of my acquaintance; and they were highly approved by all. I am altogether a stranger to your friend Oppian; and am a little angry when those who have a genius lay it out in translations. I question whether 'Res angusta domi' be not one of your motives. Perhaps you want such a bridle as a translation, for your genius is too fruitful, as appears by the frequency of your similies; and this employment may teach you to write like a modest man, as Shakspeare expresses it.

I have been minding my lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Harcourt, and sir William Windham, to solicit my lord chancellor to give you a living, as a business which belongs to our society, who assume the title of rewarders of merit. They are all very well disposed, and I shall not fail to negociate for you while I stay in England, which will not be above six weeks; but I hope to return in October, and if you are not then provided for, I will move heaven and earth that something may be done for you. Our society has not met of late, else I would have moved to have two of us sent in form to request a living for you from my lord chancellor: and, if you have any way to employ my services, I desire you will let me know it, and believe me to be very sincerely, Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

FROM DEAN ATTERBURY.

CHELSEA, TUESDAY MORNING,
MR. DEAN, APRIL 21, 1713.

GIVE me leave to tell you, that there is no man in England more pleased with your being preferred than I am. I would have told you so myself at your lodgings, but that my waiting confines me. I had heard a flying report of it before; but my lord Bolingbroke yesterday confirmed the welcome news to me. I could not excuse myself without saying thus much; and I have not time to say more, but that I am

Your most affectionate and faithful servant,
FR. ATTERBURY*.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, APRIL 30, 1713.

I HAD the honour of your grace's letter of the 14th, which at present I cannot answer particularly: I send this to welcome your grace to the Bath, where we conclude you are now arrived; and I hope the design of your journey is more for prevention, than cure. I suppose your grace has heard that the queen has made Dr. Sterne bishop of Dromore,

* Indorsed by Dr. Swift, "Dr. Atterbury, April 21, 1713, about eleven in the morning. I believe all to no purpose." N.

and that I am to succeed him in his deanery. Dr. Parnell, who is now in town, writ last post to your grace, to desire the favour of you that he may have my small prebend*: he thinks it will be some advantage to come into the chapter, where it may possibly be in my power to serve him in a way agreeable to him, although in no degree equal to his merits; by which he has distinguished himself so much, that he is in great esteem with the ministry, and others of the most valuable persons in this town. He has been many years under your grace's direction, and has a very good title to your favour; so that I believe it will be unnecessary to add how much I should be obliged to your grace's compliance in this matter: and I flatter myself that his being agreeable to me, will be no disadvantage to him in your grace's opinion.

I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,
Your grace's most dutiful
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

TO LORD CHANCELLOR HARCOURT.

MY LORD, MAY, 1713.

I WONDER your lordship would presume to go out of town and leave me in fear that I should not see you before I go to Ireland, which will be in a

* Of Dunlavin. See a letter to dean Sterne, April 17, 1710, p. 103. N.

week.

week. It is a strange thing, you should prefer your own health, and ease, and convenience, before my satisfaction. I want your lordship for my solicitor. I want your letter to your younger brother of Ireland, to put him under my government: I want an opportunity of giving your lordship my humblest thanks, for a hundred favours you have done me: I wanted the sight of your lordship this day in York buildings. Pray, my lord, come to town before I leave it, and supply all my wants. My lord treasurer uses me barbarously: appoints to carry me to Kensington, and makes me walk four miles at midnight. He laughs when I mention a thousand pounds which he gives me; though a thousand pounds is a very serious thing, *&c.*

JON. SWIFT.

TO MR. ADDISON.

SIR, MAY 13, 1713.

I WAS told yesterday, by several persons, that Mr. Steele had reflected upon me in his Guardian; which I could hardly believe, until, sending for the paper of the day, I found he had, in several parts of it, insinuated with the utmost malice, that I was author of the Examiner*; and abused me in the

* In the Guardian, No. LIII. Mr. Steele says, "Though sometimes I have been told by familiar friends, that they saw me such a time *talking to the Examiner*; others who have rallied me for the sins of my youth tell me it is credibly reported that I have *formerly lain with the Examiner*. I have carried my point; and it is nothing to me whether the Examiner writes in the character

grossest manner he could possibly invent, and set his name to what he had written. Now, sir, if I am not author of the Examiner, how will Mr. Steele be able to defend himself from the imputation of the highest degree of baseness, ingratitude, and injustice? Is he so ignorant of my temper, and of my style? Has he never heard that the author of the Examiner (to whom I am altogether a stranger*) did, a month or two ago, vindicate me from having any concern in it? Should not Mr. Steele have first expostulated with me as a friend? Have I deserved this usage from Mr. Steele, who knows very well that my lord treasurer has kept him in his employment upon my entreaty and intercession? My lord chancellor and lord Bolingbroke will be witnesses, how I was reproached by my lord treasurer, upon the ill returns Mr. Steele made to his lordship's indulgence, &c. JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. STEELE.

SIR, MAY 19, 1713.

MR. Addison shewed me your letter, wherein you mention me. They laugh at you, if they make you believe your interposition has kept me thus

of an *estranged friend*, or an *exasperated mistress*."—By the first of these appellations, Dr. Swift is to be understood; by the latter, Mrs. Manley, authoress of the Atalantis, who frequently contributed to the writing of the Examiner. N.

* See the Examiner, No. 46, in the fourth volume in this collection. The reader will recollect the received opinion, that Dr. Swift never wrote any Examiners after June 7, 1711. N.

long

long in my office. If you have spoken in my behalf at any time, I am glad I have always treated you with respect; though I believe you an accomplice of the Examiner. In the letter you are angry at, you see I have no reason for being so merciful to him, but out of regard to the imputation you lie under. You do not in direct terms say you are not concerned with him; but make it an argument of your innocence, that the Examiner has declared you have nothing to do with him. I believe I could prevail upon the Guardian to say there was a mistake in putting my name in his paper: but the English would laugh at us, should we argue in so Irish a manner. I am heartily glad of your being made dean of St. Patrick's.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

TO MR. STEELE.

SIR,

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * † I may probably know better, when they are disposed * * * * * * * *

† It has unluckily happened that two or three lines have been torn by accident from the beginning of this letter; and, by the same accident, two or three lines are missing toward the latter part, which were written on the back part of the paper which was torn off. But what remains of this letter, will, I presume, be very satisfactory to the intelligent reader. D. S.

The

The case was thus: I did, with the utmost application, and desiring to lay all my credit upon it, desire Mr. Harley (as he was then called) to show you mercy. He said, "He would, and wholly upon my account: that he would appoint you a day to see him: that he would not expect you should quit any friend or principle." Some days after, he told me, "He had appointed you a day, and you had not kept it:" upon which he reproached me, as engaging for more than I could answer; and advised me to more caution another time. I told him, and desired my lord chancellor and lord Bolingbroke to be witnesses, that I would never speak for, or against you, as long as I lived; only I would add, that it was still my opinion, you should have mercy till you gave further provocations. This is the history of what you think fit to call, in the spirit of insulting, "their laughing at me:" and you may do it securely; for, by the most inhuman dealings, you have wholly put it out of my power, as a christian, to do you the least ill office. Next I desire to know, whether the greatest services ever done by one man to another, may not have the same turn as properly applied to them? And, once more, suppose they did laugh at me, I ask whether my inclinations to serve you, merit to be rewarded by the vilest treatment, whether they succeeded or not? If your interpretation were true, I was laughed at only for your sake; which, I think, is going pretty far to serve a friend. As to the letter I complain of, I appeal to your most partial friends, whether you ought not either to have asked, or written to me, or desired to have been informed by a third hand, whether I were any way concerned in writing

writing the Examiner? And if I had shuffled, or answered indirectly, or affirmed it, or said I would not give you satisfaction; you might then have wreaked your revenge with some colour of justiee. I have several times assured Mr. Addison, and fifty others, "That I had not the least hand in writing any of those papers; and that I had never exchanged one syllable with the supposed author* in my life, that I can remember, nor ever seen him above twiee, and that in mixed company, in a plaee where he came to pay his attendance." One thing more I must observe to you, that a year or two ago, when some printers used to bring me their papers in manuscript, I absolutely forbid them to give any hints against Mr. Addison and you, and some others; and have frequently struck out reflections upon you in particular, and should (I believe) have done it still, if I had not wholly left off troubling myself about these kind of things.

I protest I never saw any thing more liable to exception, than every part is of the letter you were pleased to write me. You plead, "That I do not in mine to Mr. Addison, in direct terms, say I am not concerned in the Examiner." And is that an excuse for the most savage injuries in the world a week before? How far you can prevail with the Guardian, I shall not trouble myself to inquire; and am more concerned how you will clear your own honour and conscience, than my reputation.

* It is clear that Swift all along alludes to Oldisworth as author of the Examiners. Steele, on the contrary, sets out on the supposition that those papers were still the production of Swift and Mrs. Manley. N.

I shall

I shall hardly lose one friend by what you †* * * * * I know not any * * * * * * laugh at me for any * * * * * * absurdity of yours. There are solecisms in morals as well as in languages; and to which of the virtues you will reconcile your conduct to me, is past my imagination. Be pleased to put these questions to yourself: "If Dr. Swift be entirely innocent of what I accuse him, how shall I be able to make him satisfaction? And how do I know but he may be entirely innocent? If he was laughed at only because he solicited for me, is that a sufficient reason for me to say the vilest things of him in print, under my hand, without any provocation? And how do I know but he may be in the right, when he says I was kept in my employment at his interposition? If he never once reflected on me the least in any paper, and has hindered many others from doing it, how can I justify myself, for endeavouring in mine, to ruin his credit as a christian and a clergyman?"

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

FROM SIR THOMAS HANMER‡.

SIR, TUESDAY.

I KEEP only the last book§, which I shall have gone through before night. The rest I send you,

† Here the manuscript is torn. D. S.

‡ Indorsed, "Received about May, 1713." H.

§ Of the MS History of the Peace of Utrecht. E.

with

with the very few observations I made upon them, which yet were as many as I could see any occasion for; though, I do assure you, I read with the same strictness and ill-nature as in the former part.

I am, your most humble servant, &c.

THO. HANMER.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, MAY 23, 1713.

I HAD the honour of a letter from your grace, the 18th instant, from Chester. I was confidently told, about three weeks ago, that your grace was expected every day at the Bath; and you will find a letter there as old as that, with a requisition in favour of Dr. Parnell, who, by his own merit, is in the esteem of the chief ministers here. I am very sensible, that the loss your grace has suffered in the removal of Dr. Sterne, will never be made up by me, upon a great many accounts: however, I shall not yield to him in respect and veneration for your grace's character and person; and I return you my most grateful acknowledgments for the offer you make me of your favour and protection. I think to set out for Ireland on Monday sevennight, to be there before the term ends; for so they advise me, because the long vacation follows, in which I cannot take the oaths, unless at a quarter sessions; and I had better have two chances than one. This will hinder me from paying my respects to your grace

grace at the Bath; and indeed my own health would be better, I believe, if I could pass a few weeks there: but my remedy shall be riding, and a sea voyage. I have been inquiring, and am told your grace's cause will hardly come on this session; but indeed I have been so much out of order for these ten days past, that I have been able to do nothing.

As to the spire to be erected on St. Patrick's steeple *, I am apt to think it will cost more than is imagined; and I am confident that no bricks made in that part of Ireland, will bear being exposed so much to the air: however, I shall inquire among some architects here.

I hope your grace will find a return of your health in the place where you are. I humbly beg your blessing; and remain, with great respect, my lord,

Your grace's

most dutiful and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

* Dr. Sterne (predecessor to Dr. Swift, as dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, afterward Bishop of Dromore, from whence he was translated to the see of Clogher) left 1200*l.* to erect a spire on the top of that steeple, which was built a few years after his lordship's death. It is an octagon of many feet high, built of white hard mountain stone, with a gilt ball at the top of it, which may be seen at the distance of many miles. F.

FROM MR. STEELE.

SIR, BLOOMSBURY, MAY 26, 1713.

I HAVE received your's, and find it is impossible for a man to judge in his own case. For an allusion to you, as one under the imputation of helping the Examiner, and owning I was restrained out of respect to you, you tell Addison, under your hand, "you think me the vilest of mankind," and bid him tell me so. I am obliged to you for any kind things said in my behalf to the treasurer; and assure you, when you were in Ireland, you were the constant subject of my talk to men in power at that time. As to the vilest of mankind, it would be a glorious world if I were: for I would not conceal my thoughts in favour of an injured man, though all the powers on earth gainsaid it, to be made the first man in the nation. This position, I know, will ever obstruct my way in the world; and I have conquered my desires accordingly. I have resolved to content myself with what I can get by my own industry, and the improvement of a small estate, without being anxious whether I am ever in a court again or not. I do assure you, I do not speak this calmly, after the ill usage in your letter to Addison, out of terrour of your wit, or my lord treasurer's power; but pure kindness to the agreeable qualities, I once so passionately delighted in, in you. You know, I know nobody; but one that talked after you, could tell, "Addison had bridled me in point of

of party." This was ill hinted, both with relation to him, and, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

I know no party; but the truth of the question is what I will support as well as I can, when any man I honour is attacked.

TO MR. STEELE.

SIR, MAY 27, 1713.

THE reason I give you the trouble of this reply to your letter, is because I am going in a very few days to Ireland; and although I intended to return toward winter, yet it may happen, from the common accidents of life, that I may never see you again.

In your yesterday's letter, you are pleased to take the complaining side, and think it hard I should write to Mr. Addison as I did, only for an allusion. This allusion was only calling a clergyman of some little distinction an infidel: a clergyman, who was your friend, who always loved you, who had endeavoured at least to serve you; and who, whenever he did write any thing, made it sacred to himself never to fling out the least hint against you.

One thing you are pleased to fix on me, as what you are sure of; that the Examiner had talked after me, when he said, "Mr. Addison had bridled you in

in point of party." I do not read one in six of those papers, nor ever knew he had such a passage; and I am so ignorant of this, that I cannot tell what it means: whether, that Mr. Addison kept you close to a party, or that he hindered you from writing about party. I never talked or writ to that author in my life; so that he could not have learned it from me. And in short, I solemnly affirm, that with relation to every friend I have, I am as innocent, as it is possible for a human creature to be. And whether you believe me or not, I think, with submission, you ought to act as if you believed me, till you have demonstration to the contrary. I have all the ministry to be my witnesses, that there is hardly a man of wit of the adverse party, whom I have not been so bold as to recommend often and with earnestness to them: for, I think, principles at present are quite out of the case, and that we dispute wholly about persons. In these last you and I differ; but in the other, I think, we agree: for I have in print professed myself in politicks, to be what we formerly called a whig.

As to the great man * whose defence you undertake; though I do not think so well of him as you do, yet I have been the cause of preventing five hundred hard things being said against him.

I am sensible I have talked too much when myself is the subject: therefore I conclude with sincere wishes for your health and prosperity, and am, sir,

Yours, &c.

JON. SWIFT.

* The duke of Marlborough. D. S.

You

You cannot but remember, that in the only thing I ever published with my name, I took care to celebrate you as much as I could, and in as handsome a manner, though it was in a letter to the present lord treasurer.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.*

WHITEHALL, JUNE 2, 1713.

I HOPE this will meet you at Chester, and that your passage at sea will be favoured with as mild weather as your journey by land has been these two first days. The division yesterday, in the house of lords, was fifty-four against fifty-four. Proxies were called for, and we had seventeen to thirteen. This is the greatest victory we ever had. The duke of Argyll and the Scotch were against us to a man. Lords Weymouth and Carteret were with them. It was very comical to see the tories, who voted with lord treasurer against the dissolution of the union, under all the perplexities in the world, lest they should be victorious; and the Scotch, who voted for a bill of dissolution, under agonies lest they themselves should carry the point they pretended to desire. In all the time I have been conversant in business, I never before observed both sides, at the same time, acting parts which they thought contrary to their interests. Let us hear from you sometimes, and believe there is nobody with more sincerity your's, than, *&c.*

* Secretary to lord Dartmouth, and member for Lostwithiel. B.

FROM THE REVEREND MR. SHARPE *.

REVEREND SIR, LONDON, JUNE 4, 1713.

I WAS commanded by his excellency brigadier Hunter, governor of New York, to deliver the enclosed with my own hand, had I been so happy, for his service and my own satisfaction, as to have seen you at London. I am persuaded your influence here might have contributed to create a better opinion of him, among some leading men in the society for propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, who have been much imposed on by the clamorous memorials of some indiscreet missionaries abroad. He has the just esteem of two-thirds of the clergy in his government, and the greatest part of the laity, who have either sense, probity, or honour; but his adversaries have made the Church's cause a favourable handle for their repeated complaints, which, with the application of their friends here, makes them hopeful of success.

I have been twelve years abroad, in the service of the church in America: the last ten years were in the station of chaplain to her majesty's forces at New York, where I had the opportunity of being very near to the several governors; and do assure you, that if I had ever observed in him any inclination to weaken the interest of the church there, I could not in conscience offer to excuse him; but he is better known to you, than that I, who am altogether unknown, should presume to give his character.

* Chaplain to brigadier Hunter, governor of New York. B.

What

What I beg leave to intreat of you is, to recommend me in my endeavours for his service, to the advice and assistance of your friends. The perplexity of all his affairs at this time claims the good offices of all that wish him well. If, in favour to his excellency, you are pleased to honour me with the pardon of this, and what return the inclosed may require, direct for me to the care of Mr. James Douglas, merchant, in Fen-court, Fenchurch-street, London. I beg leave to subscribe myself, with great respect, reverend sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN SHARPE.

TO MISS VANHOMRIGH *.

LARACOR, JULY 8, 1713.

I STAYED but a fortnight in Dublin, very sick; and returned not one visit of a hundred, that were made me; but all to the dean, and none to the doctor. I am riding here for life; and I think I am something better. I hate the thoughts of Dublin, and prefer a field bed, and an earthen floor, before the great house there, which they say is mine. I

* This is the lady whom the Dean has celebrated by the name of Vanessa. She was the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, first a merchant of Amsterdam, and afterward of Dublin, who was appointed commissary of the stores by king William, upon his expedition into Ireland. Her mother was the daughter of Mr. Stone, the commissioner, and niece to the accomptant-general of Ireland. H.

had your last splenetick letter. I told you, when I left England, I would endeavour to forget every thing there, and would write as seldom as I could. I did indeed design one general round of letters to my friends; but my health has not yet suffered me. I design to pass the greatest part of the time I stay in Ireland, here, in the cabin where I am now writing; neither will I leave the kingdom till I am sent for; and if they have no farther service for me, I will never see England again. At my first coming, I thought I should have died with discontent; and was horribly melancholy, while they were installing me, but it begins to wear off, and change to dulness. My river walk is extremely pretty, and my canal in great beauty; and I see trouts playing in it. I know not any one thing now in Dublin. But Mr. Ford is very kind, and writes to me constantly what passes among you. I find you are likewise a good politician; and I will say so much to you, that I verily think, if the thing you know of had been published just upon the peace, the ministry might have avoided what has since happened: but I am now fitter to look after willows, and to cut hedges, than meddle with affairs of state. I must order one of the workmen to drive those cows out of my island, and make up the ditch again; a work much more proper for a country vicar, than driving out factions, and fencing against them. I must go and take my bitter draught to cure my head, which is spoiled by the bitter draughts which the publick has given me. So go to your dukes and duchesses, and leave me to goodman Burnford, and Patrick Dolan, of Clanduggan. Adieu.

JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. LEWIS *.

WHITEHALL, JULY 9, 1713.

WE are all running headlong into the greatest confusion imaginable. Sir Thomas Hanmer † is gone into the country this morning, I believe much discontented; and I am very apprehensive, neither lord Anglesey ‡ nor he will continue long with us. I heartily wish you were here; for you might certainly be of great use to us, by your endeavours to reconcile, and by representing to them the infallible consequences of these divisions. We had letters this morning from Ireland. What is the reason I had none from you? Adieu. I hope your want of health is not the cause.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, TRIM, JULY 16, 1713.

I HAVE been about five weeks in this kingdom, but so extremely ill with the return of an old disorder in my head, that I was not able to write to your grace. I have been the greatest part of that time at my country parish, riding every day for my health. I can tell your grace nothing from Dublin, having spent the days I was there between business and physick, and paid no visits, nor re-

* Indorsed, "Mr. Lewis, about the divisions, &c."

† Speaker of the house of commons. B.

‡ Arthur earl of Anglesey, who was joint vice-treasurer of Ireland with Edward earl of Clarendon. B.

ceived

ceived any but one day; and I reckon it no great loss, for I hear they are all party mad; and it is one felicity of being among willows, that one is not troubled with faction. I hope you have as little of it at the Bath; for I cannot fancy it does well with the waters. If your grace goes to London from the Bath, I believe I may have the honour of waiting on you; although I shall do all in my power to save the trouble of such a journey; which neither my fortune nor my health will very well bear. I hope you feel the good effects of the place you are in; and I pray God continue your life, for the good of his church.

The other day, Mr. Thacker, prebendary of Sagard and vicar of Rathcool, died; and it would be a great mark of goodness in your grace, as well as a personal favour to me, if you would please to dispose of his livings in favour of Mr. Thomas Warburton, who has been many years my assistant in the cure of Laracor, has behaved himself altogether unblamably, and is a gentleman of very good learning and sense. If I knew any one more deserving, I would not recommend him; neither would I do it however, because I know your grace has a great many dependants, but that it will be a great use to me to have a vicar in one of my rectories, and upon my deanery, in whom I can confide. I am told the livings amount to a hundred and twenty pounds a year at most; and it may probably happen in my way to be able to oblige some friend of your's in a greater matter, which I shall very readily do. I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,

Your grace's most obedient
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. LEWIS*.

WHITEHALL, JULY 30, 1713.

THIS day se'nnight the queen goes to Hampton Court, and the Monday following to Windsor. I fancy by that time Mr. Bromley † will be secretary of state, in the room of my lord ‡. Lord treasurer was abroad this evening, for the first time after a fortnight's illness. I hear there came a dozen of letters from you by the same post to your friends here. My lord treasurer desires you'll make all possible haste over; for we want you extremely.

TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

THE COUNTRY IN IRELAND,

MY LORD, AUG. 3, 1713.

IT is with the greatest pleasure I heard of your lordship's promotion, I mean that particular promotion §, which I believe is agreeable to you, though it does not mend your fortune. There is but one other change I could wish you, because I have heard you prefer it before all the rest; and

* Indorsed, "Mr. Lewis, pressing me to come over." N.

† William Bromley, esq. appointed secretary of state, Aug. 17, 1713, in the room of William, earl of Dartmouth, made lord privy seal. B.

‡ Dartmouth, to whom Mr. Lewis had been secretary. B.

§ The deanery of Westminster. N.

that

that likewise is now ready *, unless it be thought too soon, and that you are made to wait till another person has used it for a step to cross the water †. Though I am here in a way of sinking into utter oblivion; for

"*Hæ latebræ nec dulces, nec, si mihi credis, amœnæ* ‡:"

yet I shall challenge the continuance of your lordship's favour: and whenever I come to London, shall with great assurance cross the park to your lordship's house at Westminster, as if it were no more than crossing the street at Chelsea. I talked at this threatening rate so often to you about two years past, that you are not now to forget it.

Pray, my lord, do not let your being made a bishop hinder you from cultivating the politer studies, which your heart was set upon when you went to govern Christ Church. Providence has made you successor to a person, who, though of a

* The bishoprick of London was then vacant, by the death of Dr. Compton, who died July 4, 1713. N.

† To Lambeth. It is more than insinuated by Dr. Maty, that Atterbury's ambition extended to York or Canterbury. Yet those who were better acquainted with his views, knew that Winchester would have been much more desirable to him than any of the others. And there are persons still living, who have been told, from respectable authority, that that bishoprick was offered to him whenever it should become vacant (and till that event should happen, a pension of 5000*l.* a year, beside an ample provision for Mr. Morice), if he would cease to give the opposition he did to sir Robert Walpole's administration, by his speeches and protests in the house of lords. When that offer was rejected by the bishop, then the contrivance for his ruin was determined on. N.

‡ Altered from Horace, lib. i. ep. 16. N.

much

much inferior genius *, turned all his thoughts that way; and, I have been told, with great success, by his countenance to those who deserved. I envy Dr. Freind † that he has you for his inspector; and I envy you for having such a person in your district, and whom you love so well. Shall not I have liberty to be sometimes a third among you, though I am an Irish dean?

"*Vervecum in patriâ, crassoque sub aëre natus* ‡."

A very disordered head hindered me from writing early to your lordship, when I first heard of your preferment; and I have reproached myself of ingratitude, when I remembered your kindness in sending me a letter upon the deanery they thought fit to throw me into; to which I am yet a stranger, being forced into the country, in one of my old parishes §, to ride about for a little health. I hope to have the honour of asking your lordship's blessing some time in October. In the mean while, I desire your lordship to believe me to be, with very great respect and truth, my lord, your lordship's most dutiful and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

* The works of Bishop Sprat, besides his few poems, are, "The History of the Royal Society;" "The Life of Cowley;" "The Answer to Sorbiere;" "The History of the Ryehouse Plot;" "The Relation of his own Examination;" and a volume of "Sermons."—Dr. Johnson says, "I have heard it observed, with great justness, 'that every book is of a different kind, and that each has its distinct and characteristical excellence.' In his poems, he considered Cowley as a model; and supposed that, as he was imitated, perfection was approached." N.

† Dr. Freind, then head-master of Westminster-school. N.

‡ "———— land of bogs
"With ditches fenc'd, a Heaven fat with fogs."
Juvenal, Sat. x. 75.

§ Laracor and Rathbeggin. N.

FROM MR. PRIOR.

PARIS, AUG. 5-16, 1713.

AS I did not expect, my good friend Jonathan, to have received a letter from you at Dublin, so I am sure I did not intend to write one thither to you; but Mr. Rosingrave * thinks it may do him a service, in recommending him to you. If so, I am very glad of it; for it can be of no other use imaginable. I have writ letters now above twenty-two years. I have taken towns, destroyed fleets, made treaties, and settled commerce in letters. And what of all this? Why, nothing; but that I have had some subject to write upon. But to write a letter only because Mr. Rosingrave has a mind to carry one in his pocket, to tell you, that you are sure of a friendship, which can never do you three pence of good, and wish you well in England very

* Thomas Rosingrave, a celebrated performer in music. When he arrived in Ireland, he played a voluntary at St. Patrick's cathedral, Dr. Pratt, then provost of Dublin-college, and the Dean, being present. The Doctor, who happened to dine at the Deanery the same day, was so extravagant in his encomiums on Rosingrave's voluntary, that several of the company said they wished they had heard it. "Do you?" said Swift, "then you shall hear it still:" and he immediately sung out so lively and yet so ridiculous an imitation of it, that all the company were kept in continual laughter; except one old gentleman, who sat with great composure, and though he listened, yet neither shewed curiosity nor approbation. After the entertainment, he was asked by some of the company, how it happened, that he had been no more affected by the music! To which he answered, with great gravity, "that he heard Mr. Rosingrave play it himself before." D. S.

soon,

soon, when I do not know when I am likely to be there myself: all this, I say, is very absurd for a letter; especially when I have this day written a dozen much more to the purpose. If I had seen your manuscript *; if I had received Dr. Parnell's poem; if I had any news of Landen being taken; why well and good; but as I know no more than the duke of Shrewsbury designs for England within three weeks; that I must stay here till somebody else comes, and then—brings me necessarily to say, good Mr. Dean, that I am like the fellow in the Rehearsal, that did not know if he was to be merry or serious, or in what way or mood to act his part. One thing only I am assured of, that I love you very well; and am, most sincerely and faithfully, dear sir, your servant and brother †,

M. PRIOR.

Lord and lady Shrewsbury give their service to you. Vanhomrigh has run terribly here in debt, and, being in durance, has sent to his mother upon pecuniary concerns. Adieu once more.

What we are doing, or what is to become of us, I know not.

" *Prudens futuri temporis exitum*
" *Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus,*
" *Ridetque*—— HOR. lib. iii. od. 29.

This is all the Latin and writing I can at present spare you.

Pray give my service to your Chancellor ‡, and be much acquainted with judge Nutley, and love

* Of the History of the Peace of Utrecht. B.

† He was one of the sixteen. H.

‡ Sir Constantine Phipps.

him

him very well for my sake. Adieu. Once more, find out my cousin Pennyfether and Nutley (if he is not too grave for you); and according to the laudable custom of your country, drink this Louis out, for a token of my generosity and your sobriety. And now, I think, I have furnished out a very pretty letter.

FROM MR. LEWIS*.

WHITEHALL, AUG. 6, 1713.

I HAVE so often, and in so pressing a manner, desired you to come over, that, if what I have already said has no effect, I shall despair of better success by any farther arguments. If I were to recapitulate the several reasons you offer to the contrary, and answer them separately, I should grow peevish; which I have no way to avoid, but by telling you in general, it is all wrong. You and I have already laid it down for a maxim, that we must serve lord treasurer, without receiving orders or particular instructions; and I do not yet see a reason for changing that rule. His mind has been communicated more freely to you than any other†; but you will not understand it. The *desires* of great men are *commands*; at least the only ones I hope they ever will be able to use. You have a mind to stay in Ireland till October, and desire

* Indorsed, "Mr. Lewis, pressing me to come over." N.

† By this it appears, that lord Orrery was mistaken when he said that Swift was *employed*, not *trusted*. H.

me

me to give my opinion whether you should come sooner? I answer, yes. Then you bid me consider again; that is, you would have me say I am of opinion you should stay till October. When judges would have a jury change their verdict, they bid them consider again: when a man is determined to marry a woman, and his friend advises him against it, he asks his opinion again; and if his friend is so silly as not to alter his advice, he marries without it. I am as much in the spleen now I am answering your letter, as you were when you writ it. Come over; you will cure yourself and me too. Adieu.

LADY BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARLEY.

MY LORD, BUCKLEBURY, AUG. 18, 1713.

I WAS extremely glad to hear that my lord treasurer takes care of his health. I hope he will continue to do so; for, though I am a poor discarded mistress, yet my best wishes shall always attend his lordship. I beg my most humble service to him and my lady; and am, my lord,

Your most faithful servant,

F. BOLINGBROKE*.

* Received at Wimple, Aug. 22, 1713.

LADY MASHAM TO LORD HARLEY.

MY DEAR LORD, WINDSOR, SEPT. 2, 1713.

THIS day we received the most welcome news of your being married; and though it may be impertinent to rob you of a moment's time, yet I cannot omit telling you that I most heartily and sincerely wish you joy; and I am sure no one living can be more pleased at whatever contributes to your happiness than I am. My brother Hill is now with me, and most truly joins with me in wishing you the same. I hope we shall soon have the happiness of seeing you here. In the mean time, be assured I am, with the greatest truth and esteem, my dear lord, your most faithful brother* and humble servant,

MASHAM.

I beg leave to send my most humble service to my lady, most heartily wishing her joy. I beg also the same to my lord treasurer.

FROM DR. SMALBRIDGE.†

MR. DEAN, CHRIST CHURCH, SEPT. 27, 1713.

WHEN you was so kind as to favour the master of the Temple ‡ and me with your company at the

* Lady Masham so signs herself, in consequence of her lord being one of the Club of Sixteen. N.

† Afterward bishop of Bristol. B.

‡ Dr. Sherlock, afterward bishop of London. B.

chaplain's

chaplain's table at Kensington, there dined with us one Mr. Fiddes*, a well deserving clergyman, whose circumstances, we told you, were not at all suitable to his merits. You expressed on that occasion so generous a concern for him, and so great a readiness to do him any good offices, which might lie in your way, that he seems to think he should be wanting to himself, if he did not endeavour to cultivate an interest with one so willing and so able to serve him. He has therefore made repeated instances to me, that I would remind you of him, which I should not have hearkened to, were I not well assured, that you would excuse, if not thank me, for furnishing you with an opportunity of doing a generous and good natured thing. You will not, I fancy, think a formal application to any great man in his behalf either proper or requisite; but if you should, upon the perusal of one or two of his sermons, think as well of them as I do, and should in conversation with my lord treasurer express a good opinion of the author, one kind word from you, seasonably dropped, might determine his fortune, and give you the satisfaction of having made him and his family as happy as they can wish to be.

I am, sir,

your humble servant,

GEO. SMALBRIDGE.

* Richard Fiddes, afterwards D. D. author of "A Body of Divinity," "The Life of Cardinal Wolsey," &c.

TO ARCHDEACON WALLS.

WINDSOR CASTLE, OCT. 1, 1713.

I HAD just now a letter from you, wherein you mention the design of making me prolocutor*. I will confess to you, there are two reasons why I should comply with it; one is, that I am heartily weary of courts and ministers, and politicks, for several reasons impossible to tell you; and I have a mind to be at home, since the queen has been pleased that Ireland should be my home: the other reason is, that I think somebody educated in Dublin college should be prolocutor; and I hear there are designs of turning it another way. But, if you find it will not do, I hope you will quit the design in proper season. I condole with you for the loss of your† companions this winter; and I was always of opinion they should be in town, unless they find their health better at Trim.

I am a little disappointed at Parvisol's‡ return. I hoped it would have amounted to near five hundred pounds in the tithes; I doubt not the cause, and beg you will have no sort of tenderness for him, farther than it regards my interest; as to the land rents, they are one hundred and seventy-four pounds a year in the country, besides some small things in town; and I am in no pain about them, because they are sure; nor do I desire him to concern himself about them.

* See a letter to archbishop King, dated Oct. 20, 1713. N.

† Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley. F.

‡ The Dean's agent. F.

I hoped,

I hoped, and was told, my licence would be under six pounds, though all was paid, and I heard, if lord chancellor* had taken his fees, it would have been eight pounds. Tell Mr. Fetherston, I have spoken to baron Scroup about his affair, who promises to dispatch it with the first opportunity. I am now with some ministers and lords, and other company, and withdrawn to a table, and hardly know what I write, they are so loud. My humble service to your Dorothy, and alderman Stoyte†, his wife, and Cellarius; and duty to the bishop of Dromore.

Your's, J. S.

FROM LORD CHANCELLOR PHIPPS.

SIR, DUBLIN, OCT. 10, 1713.

I HAD the favour of your kind letter of the twenty-second of September, and had sooner acknowledged it, if I had not been prevented by the constant hurry we have been in, with relation to the city and parliament affairs.

I heartily congratulate your safe arrival in London, and return you, with all the gratitude imaginable, my thanks for the great trouble you have given yourself, as well on behalf of my son in particular, as of this kingdom in general: and I am sorry you should venture so far as to burn your fingers; but you know such misfortunes often happen to gentle-

* Sir Constantine Phipps. N.

† An alderman of Dublin, afterward lord mayor. F.

men

men who have a hearty zeal for the interest of their friends. But this comfort attends them, that the burning goes off soon; whereas the credit and honour of serving one's friend last always. The account you sent me of Mr. Worseley's being an envoy was new, and had not reached us before your letter came. I know not how sufficiently to acknowledge the obligations you have laid on me; but assure you, if you have any commands on this side the water, there is no one will be more proud of being honoured with them, than he, who is, with very great respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CON. PHIPPS.

TO ARCHDEACON WALLS.

LONDON, OCT. 13, 1713.

I HAVE two letters of your's to acknowledge—No, I mistake, it is but one, for I answered the former of September twenty-second, some time ago; your other is of the first instant, with an account of your mayor squabble*, which we regard as much here as if you sent us an account of your little son playing at cherry stones. I told your lord chancellor, that the best thing the government there could do, would be never to trouble us with your affairs, but do the best you can, for we will neither support nor regard you. I have received

* Concerning sir Samuel Cooke. F.

the lords justices' representation, just now sent to the queen. I have said more upon it than any body else would; and I hope my lord lieutenant* will put a good end to the dispute. I am heartily sorry for poor Hawley: and doubt such a shake at his age will not be well recovered. Of your four candidates to succeed him, I dislike all but the first, which is Bolton. As to the chair of prolocutor, I said to you in my former all I thought necessary. I dislike the thing for myself; but I would keep a wrong man out, and would be glad of an honest excuse to leave courts and publick thoughts; but it would vex me to be proposed and not succeed.

As for Williams, I am an old courtier, and will think of it; but, if we want a singer, and I can get a better, that better one shall be preferred, although my father were competitor.

I have spoken to baron Scroup about Mr. Fetherston's affair, and hope to get him a good account of it.

You very artificially bring in your friend, Mrs. South: I have spoke to her, and heard from her; and spoke to the duke of Ormond: I will do her what service I can.

My service to gossip Doll, and God bless my god-daughter.

I think you need not inquire about the land rents of the deanery, they are secure enough; and I believe I shall not trouble Mr. Parvisol about them.

There is one farm set for one hundred and twenty pounds a year, another for fifty-four pounds. Rents adjoining to the deanery, about two pounds ten

* Duke of Shrewsbury. F.

shillings,

shillings, and duties about eight pounds, or something under; and a small lease of tithes, about four or five pounds: which last I would be glad you would ask Parvisol whether it be included among the tithes he has set. You see all the rents together are under two hundred pounds. I forgot five pounds a year for the verger's house. Service to Stoyte and Manley *, and duty to bishop of Dromore †.

JON. SWIFT.

TO THE SAME.

SIR, LONDON, OCT. 20, 1713.

I WRIT to you immediately upon receiving your former, as I do now upon your last of the tenth instant. As to the business of being prolocutor ‡, I will tell you the short of my story. Although I have done more service to Ireland, and particularly to the church, than any man of my level, I have never been able to get a good word; and I incurred the displeasure of the bishops, by being the instrument, *sine qua non*, of procuring the first-fruits: neither had I credit to be a convocation man in the meanest diocese of the kingdom, till poor dean Synge, who happened to think well of me, got

* Isaac Manley, esq. deputy post-master-general of Ireland. F.

† Dr. John Sterne. See p. 313. N.

‡ The Convocation did not meet in Ireland after the year 1710. F.

me to be chosen for St. Patrick's; so that I think there will be a great change if I am chosen prolocutor. And yet, at the same time, I am so very nice, that I will not think of moving toward Ireland, till I am actually chosen: you will say, "What then must the clergy do for a prolocutor?" Why, I suppose they may appoint a vice prolocutor, until my coming over, which may be in ten days. But this perhaps is not feasible: if not, you may be sure I shall not so openly declare my ambition to that post, when I am not sure to carry it; and if I fail, the comfort of *mecum certasse feretur*, will not perhaps fall to my share. But I go on too fast; for I find in your next lines, that the archbishop says there will be an indispensable necessity that I should be there at the election. Why, if the bishops will all fix it, so as to give a man time to come over, with all my heart; but, if it must be struggled for at the election, I will have nothing to do with it. As for the bishops, I have not the least interest with above three in the kingdom: and unless the thought strikes the clergy in general, that I must be their man, nothing can come of it: we always settle a speaker here, as soon as the writs are issued out for a parliament: if you did so for a prolocutor, a man might have warning in time: but I should make the foolishest figure in nature, to come over hawking for an employment I no wise seek or desire, and then fail of it. Pray communicate the sense of what I say to the archbishop, to whom I will write by this post. As to my private affairs, I am sure they are in good hands: but I beg you will not have the least regard or tenderness to Parvisol, farther than you shall find he deserves.

I am

I am my gossip's very humble servant; and the like to Mr. Stoyte, his lady, and Catharine, and Mr. Manley, and his lady and daughter. I am,

Your obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

I wrote lately to Dr. Synge; twice in all.

I think you should force the St. Mary ladies * to town, toward Christmas.

My duty to the bishop of Dromore.

Dr. Synge wrote me word a month ago, that Rosingrave, our organist, was at the point of death. Is he dead or alive?

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, OCT. 20, 1713.

THE opportunity I had of a ship was so sudden, that I had not time to receive your grace's last commands, or pay my respects, which it was my duty and inclination to do; and as for writing, I have always told your grace that I could not set about it with a good conscience, until I were provided with matter enough for your trouble of reading. We are outwardly pretty quiet during this interval of parliament; but I will not answer what seeds are sowing to make the next spring produce bitter fruit. There are several reasons, impossible for me to tell at this distance, why I shall not be

* Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley. F.

so good a correspondent as I have formerly been, but may probably serve to entertain you a year or two hence: for the fashion of this world passes away; and there is nothing of so little consequence as the greatest court secrets, when once the scene is changed. I said to somebody, when I was last in Ireland, who talked to me of the advantage and felicity I had in the familiarity of great ministers, that it was well enough while it continued a vanity; but as soon as it ceased to be a vanity, it began to be a vexation of spirit. I have some thought of passing this winter at the Bath, because my health requires it, and because I shall then be a pretty equal distance from the factions on both sides the water; for it is not impossible your grace may have a warm winter.

I have had some letters, particularly from Dr. Synge and Mr. Archdeacon Walls, about my being prolocutor. I have this post writ my thoughts upon that subject to Mr. Walls; and to save you the trouble, have desired him to communicate them to your grace. Our elections for the city still continue: I was this afternoon at Guildhall. I find three of the old members; and Withers, who is the lowest, tells me he does not despair of carrying it for himself. There is abundance of artifice (to give it the softest word) used on both sides *.

* The candidates put up by the High Church party were sir Richard Hoare, then lord mayor, sir William Withers, sir John Cass, and sir George Newland, being the four last members; in opposition to whom, those who were against the treaty of commerce with France put up four eminent merchants, John Ward, Thomas Scawen, Robert Heysham, and Peter Godfrey, esqrs. There was a vast appearance in the hall on both sides: but, the sheriffs having declared the majority for the four old

I came yesterday from Windsor, where I saw the queen in very good health, which she finds there more than any where else, and I believe will hardly remove until December. I believe my lord * lieu-

old members, a poll was demanded for the other four; which was granted, and immediately proceeded upon for some small time. Many Quakers coming to poll, most of them for the four merchants, the opposite party insisted to tender them the abjuration oath, as the law directs: which they refusing, occasioned some debate; and so the debate was adjourned till the next morning.

The merchants being like to lose a great number of voices by the Quakers not being permitted to poll, they bethought themselves of an expedient, and insisted that all that voted on either side should qualify themselves according to law; well knowing, that not a few Roman Catholicks, who appeared for the four old members, would not take the oaths, particularly that of abjuration. Hereupon the High Church party thought it most for their advantage to compromise the matter; and so it was agreed, that the oaths should not be tendered to any that polled on either side. Thus far the election proceeded in a fair and regular way, and continued so for some days; the effects of which appeared visibly to be in favour of the four merchants, who outstripped their competitors by several hundreds of voices. Hereupon those who supported the old members bestirred themselves with such indefatigable zeal and industry, that, what by the assistance both of present and absent friends, what by the help of persons confined for debt, whose liberty was procured to serve this critical turn, what by other methods too tedious and perhaps unsafe to be mentioned, when the poll was closed, on Saturday the 24th of October, the voices stood thus:

Sir Richard Hoare -	3842	John Ward, esq. -	3730
Sir William Withers -	3763	Thomas Scawen, esq. -	3625
Sir John Cass - -	3800	Robert Heysham, esq.	3688
Sir George Newland -	3826	Peter Godfrey, esq. -	3657

Political State, 1713, p. 287. N.

* Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury. It was remarked as extraordinary, that the duke's principal domesticks were whigs; particularly his secretary, sir John Stanley; his chaplain, Dr. Timothy Goodwyn (advanced to the bishoprick of Kilmore in 1714, and to Caskel in 1727), and some others. N.

tenant

tenant will be landed before this letter comes to your hands: he is the finest gentleman we have, and of an excellent understanding and capacity for business: if I were with your grace, I would say more; but leave it to your own sagacity.

I will only venture to say one thing relating to Ireland, because I believe it will be of use that your grace should know it. If your house of commons should run into any violence disagreeable to us here, it will be of the worst consequences imaginable to that kingdom: for, I know no maxim more strongly maintained at present in our court, than that her majesty ought to exert her power to the utmost, upon any uneasiness given on your side to herself or her servants: neither can I answer, that even the legislative power here may not take cognizance of any thing that may pass among you, in opposition to the persons and principles that are now favoured by the queen. Perhaps I am gone too far; and therefore shall end, without any ceremony.

Your grace's, *&c.*

JON. SWIFT.

Direct to me under cover to Erasmus Lewis, esq. at Mr. secretary Bromley's office at Whitehall.

FROM LORD CHANCELLOR PHIPPS.

DEAR SIR, DUBLIN, OCT. 24, 1713.

I AM indebted to you for your kind letters of the eighth and tenth instant, and I very heartily acknowledge the obligation. That of the eighth gave me a great many melancholy thoughts, when I reflected upon the danger our constitution is in, by the neglect and supineness of our friends, and the vigilance and unanimity of our enemies: but I hope your parliament proving so good will awaken our friends, and unite them more firmly, and make them more active.

That part of your letter of the tenth, which related to my son, gave me great satisfaction; for, though the commissioners here have heard nothing of it, yet I believed Mr. Keightley might bring over full instructions in it: but he is arrived, and knows nothing of it; so that whatever good intentions my lord treasurer had in relation to my son, his lordship has forgotten to give any directions concerning him; for, with him, things are just as they were when you left Dublin. If you will be so kind to put his lordship in mind of it, you will be very obliging.

I cannot discharge the part of a friend, if I omit to let you know that your great neighbour * at St. Pulcher's is very angry with you. He accuses you for going away without taking your leave of him, and intends in a little time to compel you to reside

* The archbishop of Dublin. N.

at

at your deanery. He lays some other things to your charge, which you shall know in a little time.

We hourly expect my lord lieutenant *. The whigs begin to be sensible they must expect no great countenance from him, and begin to be a little down in the mouth, since they find Broderick is not to be their speaker †.

I am, with very great truth,

Your most obedient humble servant.

FROM DR. DAVENANT ‡.

SIR, WINDSOR, NOV. 3, 1713.

YOU have the character of employing in good offices to others the honour and happiness you have of being often with my lord treasurer. This use of your access to him is an uncommon instance of generosity, deserving the highest praises; for, most commonly, men are most apt to convert such advantages to their own single interest, without any regard of others; though, in my poor opinion, not so wisely. Acts of friendship create friends, even among strangers, that taste not of them; and in my experience, I hardly ever knew a man friendly

* Duke of Shrewsbury. B.

† He was, however, chosen speaker by a majority of four voices. B.

‡ Charles Davenant, LL. D. inspector general of imports and exports. He died Nov. 6, 1714.

in

in the course of his proceedings, but he was supported in the world; ingratitude being the vice, of which the generality of men are most ashamed to be thought guilty.

My son * and I have reasons to return you our thanks, for what you have already done of this kind in his favour, and we beg the continuance of it. Ministers of state have such multiplicity of business, that it is no wonder, if they forget low individuals; and in such a case, private persons must be beholden to some good-natured man, to put those in power in mind of them; otherwise they may be forgotten, till old age overtakes them. Such well disposed remembrancers deserve access, familiarity, and interest with great men; and perhaps, they are the most useful servants they can countenance in their hours of leisure.

I need not tell you, that in point of time, he is above all pretenders to foreign business; that his affairs have now depended almost three years; that in the interim, it has gone very hard with him; and that he gave a very early instance of his zeal to the present administration. But what he builds his hopes most upon, is the promise my lord treasurer was pleased to make to the duke of Shrewsbury, just as his grace left Windsor, that a provision should be made for Mr. Davenant. We must entreat you to find some lucky moment of representing to my lord, that the young man is pressed by a nearer concern than that of making his fortune,

* Henry Davenant, esq. had been employed at Frankfort, from 1703, to 1707, or longer; but his father attempted in vain to get him to Florence. In 1718 he was resident at Genoa. N.

and

and that lovers can hardly be persuaded to be as patient as other men. The duke has carried his mistress from him, and will not consent to make him happy, till he sees him in some way of being settled: in which how anxious any delay must be (possession depending upon it) he leaves you to judge, who have so well studied mankind, and who know, that love is a passion, in one of his age, much stronger than ambition. I beg your pardon for this long trouble, and am, sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
CHARLES DAVENANT.

EXTRACT FROM THE MS. DIARY OF BP. KENNETT*.

"1713. DR. SWIFT came into the coffee-house, and had a bow from every body but me. When I came to the antichamber to wait before prayers, Dr. Swift was the principal man of talk and business, and acted as a master of requests. He was soliciting the earl of Arran to speak to his brother the duke of Ormond, to get a chaplain's place established in the garrison of Hull for Mr. Fiddes, a clergyman in that neighbourhood, who had lately been in gaol, and published sermons to pay fees. He was promising Mr. Thorold to undertake with my lord treasurer, that, according to his petition, he should obtain a salary of 200*l. per annum*,

* Formerly in the library of the late marquis of Lansdown; and now in the British Museum. N.

annum, as minister of the English church at Rotterdam. He stopped F. Gwynne, esq., going in with his red bag to the queen, and told him aloud he had something to say to him from my lord treasurer. He talked with the son of Dr. Davenant to be sent abroad, and took out his pocket-book and wrote down several things, as *memoranda*, to do for him. He turned to the fire, and took out his gold watch, and, telling him the time of the day, complained it was very late. A gentleman said, 'he was too fast.' 'How can I help it,' says the doctor, 'if the courtiers give me a watch that won't go right?' Then he instructed a young nobleman, that the best poet in England was Mr. Pope (a papist), who had begun a translation of Homer into English verse, for which 'he must have them all subscribe;' 'for,' says he, 'the author *shall not* begin to print till *I have* a thousand guineas for him.' Lord treasurer, after leaving the queen, came through the room, beckoning Dr. Swift to follow him: both went off just before prayers.

"Nov. 3.—I see and hear a great deal to confirm a doubt, that the pretender's interest is much at the bottom of some hearts: a whisper that Mr. Nelson had a prime hand in the late book for hereditary right; and that one of them was presented to majesty itself, whom God preserve from the effect of such principles and such intrigues!"

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

DOCTOR, NOV. 3, 1713, ELEVEN AT NIGHT.

I HOPE your servant has told you, I sent to beg the favour of you to come hither to-night; but since you could not conveniently, I hope you will not deny me the satisfaction of seeing you to-morrow morning. My lord joins with me in that request, and will see no company but you. I hope you will come before ten o'clock, because he is to go at that hour to Windsor. I beg your pardon for sending so early as I have ordered them to carry this; but the fear of your being gone abroad, if they went later, occasioned that trouble given you by, sir,

Your most sincere,
and most faithful humble servant,
M. ORMOND.

TO LORD TREASURER OXFORD,

ON THE DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER, THE MARCHIONESS OF CAERMARTHEN *.

MY LORD, NOVEMBER 21, 1713.

YOUR lordship is the person in the world to whom every body ought to be silent upon such an occasion as this, which is only to be supported by the greatest wisdom and strength of mind:

* The marchioness was married Nov. 15, 1712; brought to bed of a son (afterward duke of Leeds), Nov. 6, 1713; and died Nov. 20, aged 28. N.

wherein

wherein, God knows, the wisest and best of us, who would presume to offer their thoughts, are far your inferiours. It is true, indeed, that a great misfortune is apt to weaken the mind, and disturb the understanding. This, indeed, might be some pretence to us to administer our consolations, if we had been wholly strangers to the person gone. But, my lord, whoever had the honour to know her, wants a comforter as much as your lordship; because, though their loss is not so great, yet they have not the same firmness and prudence, to support the want of a friend, a patroness, a benefactor, as you have to support that of a daughter. My lord, both religion and reason forbid me to have the least concern for that lady's death, upon her own account; and he must be an ill christian, or a perfect stranger to her virtues, who would not wish himself, with all submission to God Almighty's will, in her condition. But your lordship, who has lost such a daughter, and we, who have lost such a friend, and the world, which has lost such an example, have, in our several degrees, greater cause to lament, than, perhaps, was ever given by any private person before: for, my lord, I have sat down to think of every amiable quality that could enter into the composition of a lady, and could not single out one, which she did not possess in as high a perfection as human nature is capable of. But as to your lordship's own particular, as it is an unconceivable misfortune to have lost such a daughter, so it is a possession which few can boast of, to have had such a daughter. I have often said to your lordship, "That I never knew any one by many degrees so happy in their domesticks as you:" and I affirm you are so still, though not by

so

so many degrees: from whence it is very obvious, that your lordship should reflect upon what you have left, and not upon what you have lost.

To say the truth, my lord, you began to be too happy for a mortal; much more happy than is usual with the dispensations of Providence long to continue. You had been the great instrument of preserving your country from foreign and domestick ruin: you have had the felicity of establishing your family in the greatest lustre, without any obligation to the bounty of your prince, or any industry of your own: you have triumphed over the violence and treachery of your enemies, by your courage and abilities: and by the steadiness of your temper, over the inconstancy and caprice of your friends. Perhaps your lordship has felt too much complacency within yourself, upon this universal success: and God Almighty, who would not disappoint your endeavours for the publick, thought fit to punish you with a domestick loss, where he knew your heart was most exposed; and at the same time, has fulfilled his own wise purposes, by rewarding in a better life, that excellent creature he has taken from you.

I know not, my lord, why I write this to you, nor hardly what I am writing. I am sure, it is not from any compliance with form; it is not from thinking that I can give your lordship any ease. I think it was an impulse upon me that I should say something: and whether I shall send you what I have written, I am yet in doubt, &c. * JON. SWIFT.

* This consolatory epistle was pronounced by Mr. Burke to be "the finest, perhaps, that ever was written." See the Annual Register for 1765. N.

FROM JUDGE NUTLEY *.

SIR, DUBLIN, NOV. 21, 1713.

I CANNOT help telling you that I think you do me great wrong in charging me with being too civil, and with want of plainness in my letters to you. If you will be abundant in your favours to me, how can I forbear thanking you? and if you will call that by a wrong name, that is your fault, and not mine. I hope I shall be able to convince you of your mistake, by putting you in the place of the party obliged; and then I will show you, that I can be as ready as you are in doing good offices for a friend, and when I have done them, can treat you as you do me, as if you were the benefactor, and I had received the favour: I am sorry I did not keep a copy of my letter to you, that I might compare it with that which I shall have from you, whenever I shall be so happy as to receive one from you upon that subject; for I am thoroughly persuaded, you will then as much outdo me in civility

* Mr. Richard Nutley went to Ireland as counsel to the commissioners of the forfeited estates in that kingdom; and acquired such practice as enabled him to allow Mr. William Nutley, a dissipated elder brother in England, 300*l.* a year out of his profits, in lieu of an estate of 140*l.* a year which he was fearful would be alienated from the family. William was the author of a little poem, called "Dr. Radcliffe's Advice to Lady Dursley;" and, when his circumstances were much in the decline, received a most noble benefaction from that benevolent physician. F. —The Irish Judge was appointed by the duke of Ormond, in December 1715, deputy steward of Westminster; but the dean and chapter refused to confirm the nomination. N.

of

of expression, as you do now in the power of conferring favours.

By this time, I hope, I have satisfied you, that it is fit for me (and I am resolved) to express the sense I have of your friendship in as high a manner as I can, until I have an opportunity of making a better return: but to show you, that it is as uneasy to me to write civil things, as it can be to you to read them, I will, as often as I can, do you services, that I may not be at the trouble or bear the reproach of being complaisant.

I am so much a philosopher as to know that to be great, is to be, but not to be thought, miserable; and I am of the opinion of those among them, who allow retaliation; and therefore since you have declared your intention of loading me with cares, I will, as far as I can, make you sensible of the hurt you do me, by laying a like burden upon you.

I thank you most sincerely for the clear and full information you have given me of your grand church affair. It entirely agrees with my judgment; for I do think that what you propose will be the best service that has been done to this church and kingdom since the restoration, and the doing it soon will be of great advantage to the queen's affairs at this juncture. For, it has been given out among the party, that the ministry have an eye toward the whigs, and that if they now exert themselves, they will soon have an open declaration in their favour: we have a remarkable proof of this; for Mr. Broderick has engaged a considerable number of the parliament men (many of them not of his party) to promise him their votes for speaker, by telling

telling them he has the approbation of the ministry and lord lieutenant; and since his grace has made known her majesty's pleasure, a new word is given out, that the liberties of the people are in the last danger, and that the crown is attempting the nomination of a speaker. I own I am no politician; but I think I understand the posture of affairs here, and I am assured that the church party is so strong, that if any thing be done on your side to excite their zeal, and discourage their adversaries, there will be but a short struggle here. But if the whigs are permitted to hope, or what is as bad, to boast of their expectations, and nothing is done to enable others to confute them, they will, it is probable, be able to give trouble to the government; and what is now easy to be effected, will become difficult by delay; and I fear the want of doing this in time will occasion some uneasiness to the duke of Shrewsbury; for to this is owing the doubtful dispute, who shall be speaker.

I have showed your letter to the gentleman chiefly concerned in it: this I did, because I knew it would produce a full expression of his sentiments; and I can assure you, whatever occasion may have been given you to think what you say in your letter, he has a true sense of your friendship to him. I will be guarantee, that according to the power he has he will be ready to serve you, and that in kind.

My lord chancellor will send you his own thanks. I am, most truly and sincerely,

Yours, &c.

FROM MR. POPE.

SIR, BINFIELD, DEC. 8, 1713.

NOT to trouble you at present with a recital of all my obligations to you, I shall only mention two things, which I take particularly kind of you: your desire that I should write to you, and your proposal of giving me twenty guineas to change my religion; which last you must give me leave to make the subject of this letter.

Sure no clergyman ever offered so much out of his own purse for the sake of any religion. It is almost as many pieces of gold as an Apostle could get of silver, from the priests of old, on a much more valuable consideration. I believe it will be better worth my while to propose a change of my faith by subscription, than a translation of Homer. And, to convince you how well disposed I am to the reformation, I shall be content, if you can prevail with my lord treasurer and the ministry to rise to the same sum each of them, on this pious account, as my lord Halifax has done on the profane one. I am afraid there is no being at once a poet and a good Christian; and I am very much straightened between the two, while the whigs seem willing to contribute as much to continue me the one, as you would to make me the other. But, if you can move every man in the government, who has above ten thousand pounds a year, to subscribe as much as yourself, I shall become a convert, as most men do, when the Lord turns it to my interest. I know they have the truth of religion so much

much at heart, that they would certainly give more to have one good subject translated from popery to the church of England, than twenty Heathenish authors out of any known tongue into ours. I therefore commission you, Mr. Dean, with full authority to transact this affair in my name, and to propose as follows. First, that as to the head of our church, the pope, I may engage to renounce his power, whensoever I shall receive any particular indulgences from the head of your church, the queen.

As to communion in one kind, I shall also promise to change it for communion in both, as soon as the ministry will allow me.

For invocations to saints, mine shall be turned to dedications to sinners, when I shall find the great ones of this world as willing to do me any good, as I believe those of the other are.

You see I shall not be obstinate in the main points; but there is one article I must reserve, and which you seemed not unwilling to allow me, prayer for the dead. There are people to whose souls I wish as well as to my own; and I must crave leave, humbly to lay before them, that, though the subscriptions above mentioned will suffice for myself, there are necessary perquisites and additions, which I must demand on the score of this charitable article. It is also to be considered, that the greater part of those, whose souls I am most concerned for, were unfortunately hereticks, schismaticks, poets, painters, or persons of such lives and manners, as few or no churches are willing to save. The expense will therefore be the greater, to make an effectual provision for the said souls.

Old Dryden, though a roman catholick, was a poet; and it is revealed in the visions of some ancient saints, that no poet was ever saved under some hundreds of masses. I cannot set his delivery from purgatory at less than fifty pounds sterling.

Walsh was not only a socinian, but (what you will own is harder to be saved) a whig. He cannot modestly be rated at less than a hundred.

L'Estrange, being a tory, we compute him but at twenty pounds; which I hope no friend of the party can deny to give, to keep him from damning in the next life, considering they never gave him sixpence to keep him from starving in this.

All this together amounts to one hundred and seventy pounds.

In the next place, I must desire you to represent that there are several of my friends yet living, whom I design, God willing, to outlive, in consideration of legacies; out of which it is a doctrine in the reformed church, that not a farthing shall be allowed, to save their souls who gave them.

There is one * * * * who will die within these few months; with * * * * * * * one Mr. Jervas, who hath grievously offended, in making the likeness of almost all things in Heaven above and earth below. And one Mr. Gay, an unhappy youth, who writes pastorals during the time of divine service; whose case is the more deplorable, as he hath miserably lavished away all that silver he should have reserved for his soul's health, in buttons and loops for his coat.

I cannot pretend to have these people honestly saved under some hundred pounds, whether you consider the difficulty of such a work, or the extreme

extreme love and tenderness I bear them; which will infallibly make me push this charity as far as I am able.

There is but one more whose salvation I insist upon; and then I have done: but indeed it may prove of so much greater charge than all the rest, that I will only lay the case before you and the ministry, and leave to their prudence and generosity what sum they shall think fit to bestow upon it.

The person I mean is Dr. Swift: a dignified clergyman, but one, who, by his own confession, has composed more libels than sermons. If it be true, what I have heard often affirmed by innocent people, "That too much wit is dangerous to salvation;" this unfortunate gentleman must certainly be damned to all eternity. But I hope his long experience in the world, and frequent conversation with great men, will cause him (as it has some others) to have less and less wit every day. Be it as it will, I should not think my own soul deserved to be saved, if I did not endeavour to save his; for I have all the obligations in nature to him. He has brought me into better company than I cared for, made me merrier when I was sick than I had a mind to be, and put me upon making poems on purpose that he might alter them, &c.

I once thought I could never have discharged my debt to his kindness; but have lately been informed to my unspeakable comfort, that I have more than paid it all. For monsieur de Montaigne has assured me, "That the person who receives a benefit obliges the giver;" for, since the chief endeavour of one friend is to do good to the other, he who administers both the matter and occasion, is the man

who

who is liberal. At this rate it is impossible Dr. Swift should be ever out of my debt, as matters stand already; and, for the future, he may expect daily more obligations from

His most faithful
affectionate humble servant,
A. POPE.

I have finished the Rape of the Lock; but I believe I may stay here till Christmas, without hindrance of business.

TO BISHOP STERNE.

MY LORD, LONDON, DEC. 19, 1713.

I HAVE two letters from you to acknowledge, one of the fifth, and the other of the eleventh instant. I am very glad it lies in my way to do any service to Mr. Worrall, and that his merits and my inclinations agree so well. I write this post to Dr. Synge, to admit him. I am glad your lordship thinks of removing your palace to the old, or some better place. I wish I were near enough to give my approbation; and if you do not choose till summer, I shall, God willing, attend you. Your second letter is about Dr. Marsh, who is one I always loved, and have shown it lately, by doing every thing he could desire from a brother. I should be glad for some reasons, that he would get a recommendation from the lord lieutenant, or at least that he be named. I cannot say more at this distance,

distance, but assure you, that all due care is taken of him. I have had an old scheme, as your lordship may remember, of dividing the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh *. I advised it many months ago, and repeated it lately; and the queen and ministry, I suppose, are fallen into it. I did likewise lay very earnestly before proper persons the justice, and indeed necessity, of choosing to promote those of the kingdom; which advice has been hearkened to, and I hope will be followed. I would likewise say something in relation to a friend of your lordship's; but I can only venture thus much, that it was not to be done, and you may easily guess the reasons.

I know not who are named among you for the preferments; and, my lord, this is a very nice point to talk of at the distance I am. I know a person there better qualified, perhaps, than any that will succeed. But, my lord, our thoughts here are, that your kingdom leans too much one way; and believe me, it cannot do so long, while the queen and administration here act upon so very different a foot. This is more than I care to say. I should be thought a very vile man, if I presumed to recommend to —— † my own brother, if he were the least disinclined to the present measures of her majesty and ministry here. Whoever is thought to do so must shake off that character, or wait for other junctures. This, my lord, I believe you will find to be true; and I will for once venture a step farther, than perhaps discretion should let

* These sees were then vacant, and were granted the month following to the lord lieutenant's chaplain, Dr. Godwyn. H.

† "A bishoprick," without doubt. N.

me:

me: that I never saw so great a firmness in the court, as there now is, to pursue those measures, upon which this ministry began, whatever some people may pretend to think to the contrary: and were certain objections made against some persons we both know, I believe I might have been instrumental to the service of some, whom I must esteem. Pick what you can out of all this, and believe to be ever, *&c.*

JON. SWIFT.

FROM LORD PRIMATE LINDSAY.

SIR, DEC. 26, 1713.

YOURS of December the 8th I have received, and have obeyed your commands; but am much troubled to find that the trade of doing ill offices is still continued. As for my part, I can entirely clear myself from either writing or saying any thing to any one's prejudice upon this occasion *; and if others have wounded me in the dark, it is no more than they have done before; for archbishop Tillotson formerly remarked, that if he should hearken to what the Irish clergy said of one another, there was not a man in the whole country that ought to be preferred.

* There was at this time a great difference between the house of lords and commons in Ireland, about the lord chancellor Phipps of that kingdom; the latter addressing the queen to remove him from his post, and the former addressing in his favour. B.

We

We are now adjourned for a fortnight, and the commons for three weeks. I hear our lord lieutenant is not well pleased, that we have adjourned short of them: and I fancy the queen will not be well pleased, that the commons have had so little regard to the dispatch of publick business, as to make so long an adjournment as three weeks: and indeed they lowly seem to intimate, that if the lord chancellor * is not removed by that time, they will give her majesty no more money; and indeed some of them do not stick to say as much, and think it a duty incumbent on the crown, to turn out that minister (how innocent soever he be) whom the commons have addressed against.

I think it is as plain to any who know the state of affairs here, that no party hath strength enough directly to oppose a money bill in this kingdom, when the government thinks fit to exert itself, as to be sure it always will do upon such occasions: and the half-pay officers, no doubt, will readily come in to that supply, out of which they are to receive their pay. But should all fail, yet the queen still may make herself easy, by disbanding two or three regiments, and striking off some unnecessary pensions.

Hobbes, in his Behemoth, talks of a heighth in time as well as place; and if ever there was a heighth in time here, it is certainly now; for some men seem to carry things higher, according to their poor power, than they did in England in 1641. And they now threaten (and I am pretty well assured, have resolved upon it) that if the chancellor

* Sir Constantine Phipps. H.

is not discarded, they will impeach him before the lords in England. But if they have no more to say against him, that what their address contains, I think they will go upon no very wise errand.

I question not but that you will receive the votes, addresses, and representations of both houses from other hands, and therefore I have not troubled you with them: but if the parliament should continue to sit, you may expect a great product of that kind; for the commons have taken upon themselves to be a court of judicature, have taken examinations out of the judges hands about murder (which is treason here) without ever applying to the government for them: and before trial have voted the sheriffs and officers to have done their duty, and acquitted themselves well, when possibly the time may yet come, that some may still be hanged for that fact; which, in my poor opinion, is entirely destructive of liberty, and the freedom of elections.

I am your most humble servant, &c.

TO ARCHBISHOP KING.

MY LORD, LONDON, DEC. 31, 1713.

YOUR grace's letter, which I received but last post, is of an earlier date than what have since arrived. We have received the addresses for removing the chancellor, and the counter addresses from the lords and convocation; and you will know, before this reaches you, our sentiments of them here. I am at a loss what to say in this whole affair.

affair. When I writ to you before, I dropped a word on purpose for you to take notice that our court seemed resolved to be very firm in their resolutions about Ireland. I think it impossible for the two kingdoms to proceed long upon a different scheme of politicks. The controversy with the city I am not master of: it took its rise before I ever concerned myself in the affairs of Ireland, farther than to be an instrument of doing some services to the kingdom, for which I have been ill requited. But, my lord, the question with us here is, whether there was a necessity that the other party should be a majority? There was put into my hands a list of your house of commons by some who know the kingdom well: I desired they would (as they often do here) set a mark on the names of those who would be for the ministry, who I found amounted to one hundred and forty-three, which I think comes within an equality: twenty names besides they could not determine upon; so that, suppose eight to be of the same side, there would be a majority by one; but besides, we reckon that the first number, one hundred and forty-three, would easily rise to a great majority, by the influence of the government, if that had been thought fit. This is demonstration to us; for, the government there has more influence, than the court here: and yet our court carried it for many years against a natural majority, and a much greater one. I shall not examine the reasons among you for proceeding otherwise; but your grace will find that we are determined upon the conclusion, which is, that Ireland must proceed on the same foot with England. I am of opinion, my lord, that no

could do more hurt to the whig party in both kingdoms, than their manner of proceeding in your house of commons. It will confirm the crown and ministry that there can be no safety while those people are able to give disturbance; and indeed the effects it has already produced here, are hardly to be believed: neither do we here think it worth our while to be opposed, and encourage our enemies, only for 70,000*l.* a year: to supply which it may not be hard to find other expedients; and when there shall be occasion for a parliament, we are confident a new one may be called, with a majority of men in the interest of the queen and church; for, when the present majority pretends to regard either, we look upon such professions to signify no more than if they were penned by my lord Wharton, or Mr. Molesworth *. I have suffered very much for my tenderness to some persons of that party, which I still preserve; but I believe it will not be long in my power to serve those who may want it. It would be endless to recount to your grace the reproaches that have been made me, on account of your neighbour.

It is but true, my lord, we do not care to be troubled with the affairs of Ireland; but, there being no war, nor meeting of parliament, we have leisure at present: besides, we look upon ourselves as touched in the tenderest part. We know the whig party are preparing to attack us next sessions, and their prevailing in Ireland would, we think, be a great strength and encouragement to them here: besides, our remissness would dishearten

* Created viscount Molesworth in 1716. N.

our

our friends, and make them think we acted a trimming game. There are some things which we much wonder at, as they are represented: the address for removing the chancellor is grounded upon two facts: in the former of which he was only concerned with several others. The criminal was poor and penitent; and a *noli prosequi* was no illegal thing. As to Moore's business, the chancellor's speech on that occasion has been transmitted hither, and seems to clear him from the imputation of prejudging. Another thing we wonder at, is, to find the commons in their votes approve the sending for the guards, by whom a man was killed. Such a thing would, they say, look monstrous in England.

Your grace seems to think they would not break on money matters; but we are taught another opinion, that they will not pass the great bill until they have satisfaction about the chancellor; and what the consequence of that will be, I suppose you may guess from what you know by this time.

My lord, we can judge no otherwise here than by the representations made to us. I sincerely look upon your grace to be master of as much wisdom and sagacity, as any person I have known; and from my particular respect to you and your abilities, shall never presume to censure your proceedings, until I am fully apprised of the matter. Your grace is looked upon here as altogether in the other party, which I do not allow when it is said to me. I conceive you to follow the dictates of your reason and conscience: and whoever does that, will, in publick management, often differ as well from one side as another.

As

As to myself, I take Ireland to be the worst place to be in while the parliament sits, and probably I may think the same of England in a month or two. I have few obligations (farther than personal friendship and civilities) to any party: I have nothing to ask for but a little money to pay my debts, which I doubt they never will give me; and wanting wisdom to judge better, I follow those who, I think, are most for preserving the church and state, without examining whether they do so from a principle of virtue or of interest.

JON. SWIFT.

FROM LORD PRIMATE LINDSAY.

SIR, JAN. 5, 1713-14.

YOURS I received the 2d instant, and immediately got Mr. Justice Nutley to write to the bishop of Killala *, at Kells, to know of him, whether, if he could get him translated to the bishoprick of Raphoe, he would accept of it: and this day we received his answer, that it was not worth his while to carry his family so far northward, for so little advantage as that bishoprick would bring him; his own being upward of a thousand pounds a year, and Raphoe not much above eleven hundred. The reason why I got judge Nutley to write, was, because I apprehended it might seem irksome to him to be persuaded by myself to accept of what I left:

* Dr. William Lloyd, N.

though

though at the same time I can assure you, I have done little more than saved myself whole by that bishoprick; and he might, if he pleased, in a little time have received sixteen or seventeen hundred pounds for fines; so that if this comes time enough to your hands, you will prevent any farther motion that way. But if Meath drops, I believe it would be an acceptable post; and the truth is, he has always, in the worst of times, voted honestly, and behaved himself as a true son of the church. In the mean time, be assured, the judge knows not that you are concerned in this affair.

There is a gentleman, whom I believe you must have heard of, Dr. Andrew Hamilton *, archdeacon of Raphoe, a man of good learning and abilities, and one of great interest in that country, whom I could wish you would move for (since the bishop of Killala refuses) to succeed me in Raphoe, as one that is the most likely to do good in that part of the country, of any one man I know.

And now be pleased to accept my thanks for the great services you have done me: and as you have contributed much to my advancement, so I must desire you, upon occasion, to give me your farther assistance for the service of the church.

The parliament is prorogued to the 18th instant; but the whigs continuing obstinate, and deaf to all persuasions to carry on the queen's business with peace and gentleness, we conclude it must be dissolved.

* Though recommended by the primate to succeed him in the see of Raphoe, he was not preferred to it; Dr. Edward Synge being then advanced to that bishoprick. *B.*

if

If this should not come time enough to your hands, to prevent the bishop of Killala's letter for a translation to Raphoe, I will labour all I can to make him easy.

FROM LORD CHANCELLOR PHIPPS.

DEAR SIR, DUBLIN, JAN. 15, 1713-14.

MANY of my letters from London tell me how much I am obliged to you for your friendly solicitation on my son's behalf, which will be always remembered by us both, with the same gratitude, as if it had succeeded. I had congratulations from the duke of Ormond, my lord Bolingbroke, and others, on account of my son's having the place, for they sent me word it was actually done; and several other persons had letters of it, and our friends were extremely rejoiced at the well timing of it, and it was a great addition to the mortification of the whigs; and the disappointment will be a cause of great joy to them. But in this, and in all other things, I submit to the judgment of my superiours, who know best what is fit to be done. As to looking out for any thing else for my son, there is nothing else here, that I know is fit for him; and if any thing worth his having falls in England, it will be disposed of before I can have notice of it.

We are told by every body, that the rest of our vacant bishopricks will be filled to our satisfaction; if

if they are, you must be one of them. But if you are resolved, that you will not yet *episcopari* here, give me leave to recommend to you an affair of my lord Abercorn's, which is, that you would consent to the agreement the vicars choral have made with him for renewing his lease *. I am informed there are some misunderstandings between you. It is very unhappy there should be any difference between two such sure and great friends to the common cause. I do assure you, we are very much obliged to my lord Abercorn for his great service in these times of difficulty; he is as good a friend as any in the world, and as bad an enemy; and I am very sure, if you would make him a compliment, and oblige him in this matter, you would gain an entire true friend of him for the future, and oblige a great many of your friends here, who have all a great value and esteem for him.

I heartily congratulate you on her majesty's recovery, and the good effect it has had in uniting our friends. That, together with the resolution that is taken to support the church interest, will, without doubt, in a little time render all things easy and quiet in both kingdoms; though as yet our whigs here are as obstinate and perverse as ever. The commons are resolved, they will give no money till I am removed: and the aldermen will not own my lord mayor, nor proceed to any election, notwithstanding the opinion of all the judges here,

* This lease was for the greatest part of York-street, in which lord Abercorn lived; and, by the terms of their charter, the vicars choral cannot make leases without the consent of the dean and chapter. H.

and of the attorney general, and all the queen's counsel (except sir Joseph Jekyll) in England.

I wish you many happy new years, and should be very proud to receive your commands here, being, with the utmost sincerity and esteem, your most obedient humble servant,

CON. PHIPPS.

FROM THE EARL OF ANGLESEY.

MR. DEAN, DUBLIN, JAN. 16, 1713-14.

YOU judged extremely right of me, that I should, with great pleasure, receive what you tell me, that my endeavours to serve her majesty, in this kingdom, are agreeable to my lord treasurer, and the rest of the ministers. I have formerly so freely expressed to you the honour I must always have for his lordship, that I think I cannot explain myself more fully on that subject. But, what his lordship has already done for the church, and the church interest here, and what we have assurance will soon be done, will give his lordship so entire a command in the affections of all honest men here (which are not a few), that I am persuaded, he will soon find Ireland an easy part of the administration. For, it is my firm opinion, that steady and vigorous measures will so strengthen the hands of our friends in both kingdoms, that after the efforts of despair, (which never last long) are over, her majesty and her ministers will receive but little trouble from the

the faction, either on this or on your side of the water.

You are very kind to us in your good offices for Mr. Phipps, because a mark of favour so seasonably, as at this time, conferred on lord chancellor's son, will have a much greater influence, and reach farther than his lordship's person. I am preparing for my journey, and I hope I shall be able to lay such a state of this kingdom before my lord treasurer, as may prevent future disappointments, when it shall be thought necessary to hold a parliament. If this parliament is not to sit after the present prorogation, I do think, were I with you, I could offer some reasons why the filling the vacant bishopricks should be deferred for a little time. I praise God for his great goodness in restoring her majesty to her health; the blessing of which, if we had no other way of knowing, we might learn from the mortification it has given a certain set of men here.

I shall trouble you with no compliments, because I hope soon to tell you how much I am, dear sir, yours,

ANGLESEY.

FROM THE EARL OF PETERBOROW.

MARCH 5, 1713-14.

QUERIES FOR DR. SWIFT, NEXT SATURDAY, AT DINNER.

WHETHER any great man, or minister, has favoured the earl of Peterborow with one single line since he left England *; for, as yet, he has not received one word from any of them, nor his friend of St. Patrick's?

Whether, if they do not write till they know what to write, he shall ever hear from them?

Whether any thing can be more unfortunate, than to be overcome when strongest, outwitted having more wit, and baffled having most money?

Whether betwixt two stools the bottom goes to the ground (reverend dean) be not a good old proverb, which may give subject for daily meditation and mortification?

I send the lazy scribbler a letter from the extremities of the earth, where I pass my time, admiring the humility and patience of that power heretofore so terrible; and the new scene which we see, to wit, the most christian king waiting with so much resignation and respect, to know the emperor's pleasure as to peace or war.

Where I reflect with admiration upon the politicks of those, who, breaking with the old allies, dare not make use of the new ones; who, pulling down the old rubbish and structure, do not erect a

* Endorsed, "Lord Peterborow, abroad on embassies." N.

new

new fabrick on solid foundations. But this is not so much to the purpose; for, in the world of the moon, provided toasting continue, the church and state can be in no danger.

But, alas! in this unmerry country, where we have time to think, and are under the necessity of thinking, where impiously we make use of reason, without a blind resignation to Providence, the bottle, or chance, what opinion think you we have of the present management in the refined parts of the world, where there are just motives of fear? When neither steadiness nor conduct appears, and when the evil seems to come on apace, can it be believed, that extraordinary remedies are not thought of?

Heavens! what is our fate? What might have been our portion, and what do we see in the age we live in? France and England, the kings of Spain and Sicily, perplexed and confounded by a headstrong youth*; one, who has lost so many kingdoms by pride and folly; and all these powerful nations at agaze, ignorant of their destiny; not capable of forming a scheme, which they can maintain, against a prince, who has neither ships, money, nor conduct. Some of the ministers assisted and supported with absolute power, others with a parliament at their disposal, and the most inconsiderable of them with the Indies at their tail.

And what do I see in the centre, as it were, of ignorance and bigotry? The first request of a parliament to their king is to employ effectual means against the increase of priests; the idle

* Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. H.

devourers

devourers of the fat of the land. We see churches, shut up by the order of the pope, set open by dragoons, to the general content of the people. To conclude, it fell out, that one of our acquaintance * found himself, at a great table, the only excommunicated person by his holiness; the rest of the company eating and toasting, under anathemas, with the courage of a hardened heretick.

Look upon the prose I send you. See, nevertheless, what a sneaking figure he makes at the foot of the parson. Who could expect this from him? But he thinks, resolves, and executes.

If you can guess from whence this comes, address your letter to him, "à messieurs *Raffnel* et *Fretti Sacerdotti, Genoa.*"

FROM LORD TREASURER OXFORD†.

WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

I HAVE heard, that some honest men, who are very innocent, are under trouble, touching a printed pamphlet. A friend of mine, an obscure person, but charitable, puts the enclosed bill in your hands, to answer such exigencies as their case may immedi-

* Probably the Rev. Mr. George Berkeley, fellow of Dublin college, who went chaplain and secretary to the earl of Peterborow to Sicily, at the recommendation of Dr. Swift. B.

† Endorsed, "Lord Treasurer Oxford's letter to me in a counterfeit hand with the bill when the printers were prosecuted by the house of lords for a pamphlet.' Letter with bill of 100*l.* Received March 14, 1713-14." N.

ately require. And I find he will do more, this being only for the present. If this comes safe to your hands, it is enough *.

TO LORD TREASURER OXFORD †.

MARCH 18, 1713-14.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

PURSUANT to her majesty's proclamation of the fifteenth of this instant March, for discovering the author of a false, malicious, and factious libel, entitled, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs;" wherein her majesty is graciously pleased to promise a reward of three hundred pounds, to be paid by your lordship, which said discovery I can make. But your lordship, or some persons under your lordship, have got such an ill name in paying such rewards. Instance two poor men, *viz.* John Greenwood and John Bouch, who took and brought to justice six persons, vulgarly Mohocks; which the

* This letter was sent to Dr. Swift, when the printer Barber was prosecuted by the House of Lords, for "The Public Spirit of the Whigs:" a pamphlet written in answer to a tract of Sir Richard Steele's, called the Crisis, and published on the second of March, 1713-14. All the Scots lords then in London went to the queen, and complained of the affront put on them and their nation by the author; upon which a proclamation was published by her majesty, offering a reward of 300*l.* to discover him. See p. 382. H.

† Endorsed, "A letter to lord treasurer, offering to discover the author of the pamphlet, called 'The Public Spirit of the Whigs'."

said

said two poor men never received but twenty pounds, and the latter thirty; and they had no partners concerned with them, as appears by the attorney general's reports to your lordship; which if I should be so served, to cause any persons to be punished, and be no better rewarded, will be no encouragement for me to do it; for these two poor men being so plain a precedent for me to go by. Your lordship's most humble and most obedient servant.

L. M.

HUMOROUS LINES BY LORD TREASURER OXFORD, *SENT TO DR. SWIFT, DR. ARBUTHNOT, MR. POPE, AND MR. GAY.*

APRIL 14, 1714. BACK STAIRS, PAST EIGHT.

GAY.

IN a summons so large, which all clergy contains,
I must turn Dismal's * convert, or part with my brains,
Should I scruple to quit the back stairs for your blind ones,
Or refuse your true juncto † for one of——

* Dismal was lord Nottingham. H.

† Dr. Swift, Dr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Gay, were writing the history of Martinus Scriblerus; and these four wits in conjunction, are styled by lord treasurer a juncto. H.

The

The following is their answer to his lordship, chiefly written by the Dean.

Let not the whigs our tory club rebuke;
Give us our earl *, the devil take their duke †.
Quædam quæ attinent ad Scriblerum,
Want your assistance now to clear 'em.
One day it will be no disgrace,
In Scribler to have had a place;
Come then, my lord, and take your part in
The important history of Martin.

THE DEAN.

A pox on all senders
For any pretenders,
Who tell us these troublesome stories
In their dull humdrum key,
Of *Arma virumque,*
Hanoniæ ‡ *qui primus ab oris.*
A pox too on Hanmer,
Who prates like his gran-mere,
And all his old friends would rebuke.
In spite of the carle,
Give us but our earl,
The devil may take their duke.
Then come and take part in
The memoirs of Martin;
Lay down your white staff and gray habit:
For trust us, friend Mortimer,
Should you live years forty more,
Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

* Of Oxford. B.
† Of Marlborough. B.
‡ The duchy of Hainault. H.

MORE LINES OF HUMOUR BY THE LORD TREASURER.

APRIL 14, 1714.

I HONOUR the men, sir,
Who are ready to answer,
When I ask them to stand by the queen;
In spite of orâtors,
And blood thirsty praters,
Whose hatred I highly esteem.
Let our faith's defender
Keep out every pretender,
And long enjoy her own;
Thus you four, five,
May merrily live,
Till faction is dead as a stone.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

BROTHER *, APRIL 24, 1714.

I SHOULD sooner have thanked you for your letter, but that I hoped to have seen you here by this time. You cannot imagine how much I am grieved, when I find some people I wish well to, run counter to their own interest, and give their enemies such advantages, by being so hard upon their

* The duke of Ormond was one of the sixteen brothers; the duchess, therefore, calls Swift brother in her lord's right. Lady Masham occasionally did the same. N.

friends

friends as to conclude, if they are not without fault, they are not to be supported, or scarce conversed with. Fortune is a very pretty gentlewoman; but how soon she may be changed, nobody can tell. Fretting her, with the seeing all she does for people only makes them despise her, may make her so sick as to alter her complexion; but I hope our friends will find her constant, in spite of all they do to shock her: and remember the story of the arrows *, that were very easily broke singly; but when tied up close together, no strength of man could hurt them. But that you may never feel any ill consequences from whatever may happen, are the sincere wishes of, brother,

Yours, with all sisterly affection.

TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROW.

MY LORD, LONDON, MAY 18, 1714.

I HAD done myself the honour of writing to your excellency, above a month before yours of March the 5th came to my hands. The Saturdays' dinners have not been resumed since the queen's return from Windsor; and I am not sorry, since it

* In this letter the duchess alludes to the division then subsisting among the ministers at court; and it is probable, that the hint about the story of the arrows produced the poem called "The Faggot," which the Dean wrote about this time. It is is said, under the title, to have been written in the year 1713, when the queen's ministers were quarrelling among themselves. H.

became

became so mingled an assembly, and of so little use either to business or conversation: so that I was content to read your queries to our two great friends. The treasurer stuck at them all; but the secretary acquitted himself of the first, by assuring me he had often written to your excellency.

I was told, the other day, of an answer you made to somebody abroad, who inquired of you the state and dispositions of our court: "That you could not tell, for you had been out of England a fortnight." In your letter, you mention the world of the moon, and apply it to England; but the moon changes but once in four weeks. By both these instances, it appears you have a better opinion of our steadiness than we deserve; for I do not remember, since you left us, that we have continued above four days in the same view, or four minutes with any manner of concert. I assure you, my lord, for the concern I have for the common cause, with relation to affairs both at home and abroad, and from the personal love I bear to our friends in power, I never led a life so thoroughly uneasy as I do at present. Our situation is so bad, that our enemies could not, without abundance of invention and ability, have placed us so ill, if we had left it entirely to their management. For my own part, my head turns round; and after every conversation, I come away just one degree worse informed than I went. I am glad, for the honour of our nation, to find by your excellency's letter, that some other courts have a share of frenzy, though not equal, nor of the same nature with our's. The height of honest men's wishes at present is, to rub off this session; after which, nobody has the impudence to expect, that we shall not immediately

fall

fall to pieces: nor is any thing I write the least secret, even to a whig footman.

The queen is pretty well at present; but the least disorder she has puts all in alarm; and when it is over we act as if she were immortal. Neither is it possible to persuade people to make any preparations against an evil day. There is a negotiation now in hand, which, I hope, will not be abortive: the States General are willing to declare themselves fully satisfied with the peace and the queen's measures, &c. and that is too popular a matter to slight. It is impossible to tell you whether the prince of Hanover intends to come over or not. I should think the latter, by the accounts I have seen; yet our adversaries continue strenuously to assert otherwise; and very industriously give out, that the lord treasurer is at the bottom: which has given some jealousies not only to his best friends, but to some I shall not name; yet I am confident they do him wrong. This formidable journey is the perpetual subject both of court and coffee-house chat.

Our mysterious and unconcerted ways of proceeding have, as it is natural, taught every body to be refiners, and to reason themselves into a thousand various conjectures. Even I, who converse most with people in power, am not free from this evil: and particularly, I thought myself twenty times in the right, by drawing conclusions very regularly from premises which have proved wholly wrong. I think this, however, to be a plain proof that we act altogether by chance; and that the game, such as it is, plays itself.

By the present enclosed in your excellency's letter, I find the Sicilians to be bad delineators, and worse poets.

poets. As sneakingly as the prince looks at the bishop's foot, I could have made him look ten times worse, and have done more right to the piece, by placing your excellency there, representing your mistress the queen, and delivering the crown to the bishop, with orders where to place it. I should like your new king very well, if he would make Sicily his constant residence, and use Savoy only as a *commendam*. Old books have given me great ideas of that island. I imagine every acre there worth three in England; and that a wise prince, in such a situation, would, after some years, be able to make what figure he pleased in the Mediterranean.

The duke of Shrewsbury, not liking the weather on our side the water, continues in Ireland, although he formally took his leave there six weeks ago. Tom Harley is every hour expected here, and writes me word, "he has succeeded at Hanover to his wishes." Lord Stafford writes the same, and gives himself no little merit upon it.

Barber the printer was, some time ago, in great distress, upon printing a pamphlet, of which evil tongues would needs call me the author*: he was brought before your house, which addressed the queen in a body, who kindly published a proclamation with three hundred pounds to discover. The fault was, calling the Scots "a fierce poor northern people." So well protected are those who scribble for the government! Upon which, I now put one query to your excellency, What has a

* "The Public Spirit of the Whigs." See the lord treasurer's letter on this subject, p. 374. N.

man

man without employment to do among ministers, when he can neither serve himself, his friends, nor the publick?

In my former letter, which I suppose was sent to Paris to meet you there, I gave you joy of the government of Minorca. One advantage you have of being abroad, that you keep your friends; and I can name almost a dozen great men, who thoroughly hate one another, yet all love your lordship. If you have a mind to preserve their friendship, keep at a distance; or come over, and show your power, by reconciling at least two of them; and remember, at the same time, that this last is an impossibility. If your excellency were here, I would speak to you without any constraint; but the fear of accidents in the conveyance of the letter, makes me keep to generals. I am sure you would have prevented a great deal of ill, if you had continued among us; but people of my level must be content to have their opinion asked, and to see it not followed; although I have always given it with the utmost freedom and impartiality. I have troubled you too much; and as a long letter from you is the most agreeable thing one can receive, so the most agreeable return would be a short one. I am ever, with the greatest respect and truth, my lord,

Your excellency's most obedient
and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM CHIVERTON CHARLTON, ESQ.

CAPTAIN OF THE YEOMEN OF THE GUARD.

SIR, MAY 22, 1714.

HEARING from honest John *, that you still persist in your resolution of retiring into the country, I cannot but give you my thoughts of it, at the same time that I am sensible how intruding it may appear in me to trouble you with what I think; but you have an unlucky quality, which exposes you to the forwardness of those who love you: I mean good-nature. From which, though I did not always suspect you guilty of it, I now promise myself an easy pardon. So that, without being in much pain as to the censure you may pass upon my assurance, I shall go on gravely to tell you, I am entirely against your design.

I confess a just indignation at several things, and particularly at the return your services have met with, may give you a disgust to the court; and that retirement may afford a pleasing prospect to you, who have lived so long in the hurry, and have borne so great a share of the load of business; and the more so at this juncture, when the distraction among your friends is enough to make any one sick of a courtier's life. But on these very accounts you should choose to stay, and convince the world that you are as much above private resentment, where the publick is concerned, as you are incapable of

* John Barber, then the Dean's printer; in 1722 an alderman, and in 1733 lord mayor of London. N.

being

being tired out in the service of your country; and that you are neither afraid nor unwilling to face a storm in a good cause.

It is true, you have less reason than any one I know, to regard what the world says of you; for I know none, to whom the world has been more unjust. Yet, since the most generous revenge is to make the ungrateful appear yet more ungrateful, you should still persecute the publick with fresh obligations; and the rather, because some there are of a temper to acknowledge benefits; and it is to be hoped the rest may not always continue stupid. At least (suppose the worst) the attempt to do good carries along with it a secret satisfaction, with which if you are not sensibly affected, I am at a loss how to account for many of your actions. I remember very well, what you have sometimes said upon this subject; as if you were now grown useless, &c. To which I have this to answer, that though your efforts are in vain to-day, some unforeseen incident may make them otherwise to-morrow; and that, should you by your absence lose any happy opportunity, you will be the first to reproach yourself with running away, and be the last man in the world to pardon it. If I denied self-interest to be at the bottom of all I have said, I know you would think I lied villainously, and perhaps not think amiss neither; for I still flatter myself with the continuance of that favour you have on many occasions been pleased to shew me; and am vain enough to fancy I should be a considerable loser, if you were where I could not have an opportunity of clubbing my shilling with you now and then at *good eating*. But as much as I am concerned on

this account, I am not so selfish to say what I have done, if it were not my real opinion; which, whether you regard or not, I could not deny myself the satisfaction of speaking it, and of assuring you, that I am, with the utmost sincerity and respect, sir, your most obliged, and most faithful humble servant,

CH. CHARLTON.

My lady duchess *, I can answer for her, is very much your servant, though I have not her commands to say so. She is gone to see the duke of Beaufort, who is so ill, it is feared he cannot recover. She went this morning so early, I have had no particular account how he is; but am told, he does nothing but doze. The messenger came to her at three in the morning; and she went away immediately afterward.

Lady Betty desires me to thank you for your letter, and would be glad, since the provost is graciously pleased to stay her majesty's time, to know where it is he designs to stay.

Honest Townshend and I have the satisfaction to drink your health as often as we do drink together. Whether you approve of your being toasted with the bishop of London, and such people, I cannot tell; but at present we have disposed you in the first list of rank tories.

A servant is just now come from the duchess of Ormond, and gives such an account of the duke of Beaufort, that it is thought he cannot possibly recover.

* Of Ormond. H.

FROM MR. GAY*.

SIR, LONDON, JUNE 8, 1714.

SINCE you went out of the town, my lord Clarendon was appointed envoy extraordinary to Hanover, in the room of lord Paget; and by making use of those friends, which I entirely owe to you, he has accepted me for his secretary. This day, by appointment, I met his lordship at Mr. secretary Bromley's office†; he then ordered me to be ready by Saturday. I am quite off from the duchess of Monmouth ‡. Mr. Lewis was very ready to serve me upon this occasion, as were Dr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Ford. I am every day attending my lord treasurer for his bounty, in order to set me out; which he has promised me upon the following petition, which I sent him by Dr. Arbuthnot:

The epigrammatical Petition of John Gay.

I'm no more to converse with the swains,
  But go where fine people resort:
One can live without money on plains,
  But never without it at court.
If, when with the swains I did gambol,
  I array'd me in silver and blue:
When abroad, and in courts I shall ramble,
  Pray, my lord, how much money will do?

* Endorsed, "The Dean sent Gay abroad." N.

† Bromley was joint secretary with Bolingbroke. H.

‡ Mr. Gay had been secretary, or domestic steward, to the duchess, widow of the duke of Monmouth, who was beheaded in the first year of king James II. B.

We had the honour of the treasurer's company last Saturday, when we sat upon Scriblerus *. Pope is in town, and has brought with him the first book of Homer.

I am this evening to be at Mr. Lewis's with the Provost †, Mr. Ford, Parnell, and Pope. It is thought my lord Clarendon will make but a short stay at Hanover. If it was possible, that any recommendation could be procured to make me more distinguished than ordinary, during my stay at that court, I should think myself very happy, if you could contrive any method to prosecute it; for I am told, that their civilities very rarely descend so low as to the secretary. I have all the reason in the world to acknowledge this as wholly owing to you. And the many favours I have received from you, purely out of your love for doing good, assures me you will not forget me in my absence. As for myself, whether I am at home or abroad, gratitude will always put me in mind of the man, to whom I owe so many benefits. I am your most obliged humble servant,

J. GAY.

* Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus; a joint work of Pope, Arbuthnot, and others. See it in vol. XVIII. N.

† Of Dublin college, Dr. Benjamin Pratt. H.

TO MISS VANHOMRIGH.

UPPER LETCOMBE, NEAR WANTAGE, BERKS,
JUNE 8, 1714.

I HAVE not much news to tell you from hence, nor have I had one line from any body since I left London, of which I am very glad: but to say the truth, I believe I shall not stay here so long as I intended; I am at a clergyman's house, whom I love very well; but he is such a melancholy thoughtful man, partly from nature, and partly by a solitary life, that I shall soon catch the spleen from him. Out of ease and complaisance, I desire him not to alter any of his methods for me; so we dine exactly between twelve and one. At eight we have some bread and butter, and a glass of ale; and at ten he goes to bed. Wine is a stranger, except a little I sent him; of which, one evening in two, we have a pint between us. His wife has been this month twenty miles off, at her father's, and will not return these ten days. I never saw her; and perhaps the house will be worse when she comes. I read all day, or walk; and do not speak so many words as I have now writ, in three days: so that, in short, I have a mind to steal to Ireland; unless I find myself take more to this way of living, so different, in every circumstance, from what I left. This is the first syllable I have writ to any body since you saw me. I shall be glad to hear from you, not as you are a Londoner, but as a friend; for I care not three-pence for news, nor have heard one syllable since I came here. The pretender, or duke of Cambridge,

Cambridge, may both be landed, and I never the wiser: but if this place were ten times worse, nothing shall make me return to town, while things are in the situation I left them. I give a guinea a week for my board, and can eat any thing.

JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. BARBER.

DEAR SIR, LONDON, JUNE 8, 1714.

I HAVE enclosed all the letters that have come to my hands. I saw my lord treasurer to-day, who asked me where you were gone? I told his lordship you were in Berkshire *. He answered, "It is very well; I suppose I shall soon hear from him." My lord Bolingbroke was very merry with me upon your journey, and hoped the world would be the better for your retirement, and that I should soon be the midwife †. The schism bill was read the

* See in vol. XIII. a note on a letter to Mr. Pope, dated July 8, 1733. N.

† Swift having in vain endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, retired about this time to the house of his friend, the Rev. Mr. Gery, at Letcombe, Berks; where he wrote "Free Thoughts on the present State of Affairs;" which, through the medium of his friend Ford, he put to the press of Mr. John Barber. The printer, pleased with his pamphlet, but not knowing by whom it was written, communicated it to lord Bolingbroke, who made in it some alterations not relished by the Dean, and which retarded the progress at the press so long, that in the interim the queen died, and the pamphlet was at the time suppressed. The tract was many years afterwards inserted in Swift's Works; and may be seen in vol. V. of this edition. N.

second

second time yesterday, and committed for to-morrow, without a division. Every body is in the greatest consternation at your retirement, and wonders at the cause. I tell them, it is for your health's sake. Mr. Gay is made secretary to my lord Clarendon, and is well pleased with his promotion. The queen is so well, that the Sicilian ambassador has his audience to-night. She can walk, thank God, and is well recovered. * * * * * * * * * consent, I will appoint the happy day; as does, sir, your most obedient humble servant, TYRANT.

I forgot to tell you that I saw Mr. Harley, who told me he would instantly send for the horse from Herefordshire, but that, being at grass, he had ordered his man not to ride hard; but that you should have him with all convenient speed.

FROM DR. ARBUTHNOT *.

DEAR BROTHER†, ST. JAMES'S, JUNE 12, 1714.

I AM glad your proud stomach is come down, and that you submit to write to your friends. I was of opinion, that if they managed you right, they might bring you to be even fond of an article in the Post Boy, or Flying Post. As for the present state of our court affairs, I thank God, I am almost as ignorant as you are, to my great ease and comfort. I have never inquired about any thing, since my

* At that time the queen's domestic physician. N.

† One of the sixteen. H.

lady Masham told the dragon *, that she would carry no more messages, nor meddle nor make, &c. I do not know whether things were quite so bad when you went. The dragon manages this bill † pretty well; for you know that it is his *forte:* and I believe, at the rate they go on, they will do mischief to themselves, and good to nobody else.

You know that Gay goes to Hanover, and my lord treasurer has promised to equip him. Monday is the day of departure; and he is now dancing attendance for money to buy him shoes, stockings, and linen. The duchess‡ has turned him off, which I am afraid, will make the poor man's condition worse, instead of better.

The dragon was with us on Saturday night last, after having sent us really a most excellent copy of verses. I really believe when he lays down, he will prove a very good poet. I remember the first part of his verses was complaining of ill usage; and at last he concludes,

" He that cares not to rule, will be sure to obey,
When summon'd by Arbuthnot, Pope, Parnell, and Gay."

Parnell has been thinking of going chaplain to my lord Clarendon; but they will not say whether he should or not. I am to meet our club at the Pall Mall coffee-house, about one to-day, where we cannot

* Lord treasurer Oxford. B.

† " To prevent the growth of schism, and for the farther security of the Church of England, as by law established." It passed the house of lords, June 13, 1714. B.

‡ The duchess of Monmouth, to whom he had been secretary. H.

fail

fail to remember you. The queen is in good health; much in the same circumstances with the gentleman I mentioned, in attendance upon her ministers for something she cannot obtain. My lord and my lady Masham, and lady Fair, remember you kindly; and none with more sincere respect than your affectionate brother and humble servant,

JO. ARBUTHNOT.

FROM MR. POPE.

JUNE 18, 1714.

WHATEVER apologies it might become me to make at any other time for writing to you, I shall use none now, to a man who has owned himself as splenetick as a cat in the country. In that circumstance, I know by experience a letter is a very useful, as well as amusing thing: if you are too busied * in state affairs to read it, yet you may find entertainment in folding it into divers figures, either doubling it into a pyramidical, or twisting it into a serpentine form; or if your disposition should not be so mathematical, in taking it with you to that place where men of studious minds are apt to sit longer than ordinary; where, after an abrupt division of the paper, it may not be unpleasant to try to fit and rejoin the broken lines together. All

* At the time this letter was written, Swift was in high favour with the minister lord Oxford. The queen died the August following, which terminated his political importance.

BOWLES.

these

these amusements I am no stranger to in the country, and doubt not but (by this time) you begin to relish them, in your present contemplative situation.

I remember a man, who was thought to have some knowledge in the world, used to affirm, that no people in town ever complained they were forgotten by their friends in the country: but my increasing experience convinces me he was mistaken, for I find a great many here grievously complaining of you, upon this score. I am told farther, that you treat the few you correspond with in a very arrogant style, and tell them you admire at their insolence in disturbing your meditations, or even inquiring of your retreat *: but this I will not positively assert, because I never received any such insulting epistle from you. My lord Oxford says you have not written to him once since you went: but this perhaps may be only policy, in him or you: and I, who am half a whig, must not entirely credit any thing he affirms. At Button's it is reported you are gone to Hanover, and that Gay goes only on an embassy to you. Others apprehend some dangerous state treatise from your retirement; and a wit who affects to imitate Balzac, says, that the ministry now are like those heathens of old, who received their oracles from the woods. The gentlemen of the Roman catholick persuasion are not unwilling to credit me, when I whisper that you are gone to meet some Jesuits commissioned from the court of Rome, in order to settle the most convenient methods to be taken for the coming of

* At a friend's house in Berkshire. See the preceding letters. N.

the

the pretender. Dr. Arbuthnot is singular in his opinion, and imagines your only design is to attend at full leisure to the life and adventures of Scriblerus *. This indeed must be granted of greater importance than all the rest; and I wish I could promise so well of you. The top of my own ambition is to contribute to that great work, and I shall translate Homer by the by. Mr. Gay has acquainted you what progress I have made in it. I cannot name Mr. Gay, without all the acknowledgements which I shall ever owe you, on his account. If I writ this in verse, I would tell you, you are like the sun, and while men imagine you to be retired or absent, are hourly exerting your indulgence, and bringing things to maturity for their advantage. Of all the world, you are the man (without flattery) who serve your friends with the least ostentation; it is almost ingratitude to thank you †, considering your temper; and this is the period of all my letter which I fear you will think the most impertinent.

I am with the truest affection,

Yours, &c.

* This project (in which the principal persons engaged were Dr. Arbuthnot, Dr. Swift, and Mr. Pope) was a very noble one. It was to write a complete satire in prose upon the abuses in every branch of science, comprised in the history of the life and writings of Scriblerus: the issue of which were only some detached parts and fragments, such as the "Memoirs of Scriblerus," the "Travels of Gulliver," the "Treatise of the Profound," the literal "Criticisms on Virgil," &c. WARBURTON.

But the *three* last-mentioned works were not at all in the character of Dr. Scriblerus. Dr. WARTON.

† Swift was at this time earnestly soliciting, among his great friends, subscriptions for Pope's Homer. BOWLES.

FROM THOMAS HARLEY, ESQ.*

SIR, JUNE 19, 1714.

YOUR letter gave me a great deal of pleasure. I do not mean only the satisfaction one must always find in hearing from so good a friend, who has distinguished himself in the world, and formed a new character, which nobody is vain enough to pretend to imitate. But you must know, the moment after you disappeared, I found it was to no purpose to be unconcerned, and to slight (as I really have done) all the silly stories and schemes I met with every day; the effects of self-conceit, and a frightened, hasty desire of gain. They asked me, "Has not the dean left the town? Is not Dr. Swift gone into the country?"—Yes; and I would have gone into the country too, if I had not learned, one cannot be hurt till one turns one's back; for which reason I will go no more on their errands. But, seriously, you never heard such bellowing about the town of the state of the nation, especially among the sharpers, sellers of bear-skins †, and the rest of that kind: nor such crying, and squalling among the ladies; insomuch that it has at last reached the house of commons; which I am

* This gentleman was cousin to the lord treasurer. He died in January 1737; and left his estate to Edward Harley, esq. H.

† Stock-jobbers. He who sells that of which he is not possessed, is said proverbially to sell the bear's skin, while the bear runs in the woods. And it being common for stock-jobbers to make contracts for transferring stocks at a future time, though they were not possessed of the stock to be transferred, they are called sellers of bear-skins. H.

sorry

sorry for, because it is hot and uneasy sitting there in this season of the year. But I was told to-day, that in some countries, people are forced to watch day and night, to keep wild beasts out of their corn. Do you not pity me, for yielding to such grave sayings, to be stifled every day in the house of commons?

When I was out of England, I used to receive five or six letters each post, with this passage, "As for what passes here, you will be informed by others much better; therefore I shall not trouble you with any thing of that sort." You will give me leave to use it now, as my excuse to you for not writing news. I hope, honest Gay will be better supplied by some friend or other. Before I received your direction, I had ordered my servant, who comes next Monday out of Herefordshire, to leave your horse at the Crown in Farringdon, where you can easily send for him. I hear he was so fat, they could not travel him till he was taken down; and I ordered he should go short journeys: he is of a good breed, and therefore I hope will prove well: if not, use him like a bastard, and I will choose another for you.

I am, sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

T. HARLEY.

FROM MR. THOMAS *.

REVEREND SIR, JUNE 22, 1714.

IT was with some difficulty, that I prevailed with myself to forbear acknowledging your very kind letter. I can only tell you, it shall be the business of my life, to endeavour to deserve the opinion you express of me, and thereby to recommend myself to the continuance of your friendship.

My lord treasurer does, upon all occasions, do justice to your merit; and he has expressed to all his friends the great esteem he has for so hearty and honest a friend, and particularly on occasion of the letter you mention to have lately writ to him. And all his friends can inform you with what pleasure he communicated it to them.

And now for business; I am to acquaint you, that last Thursday I received the 50*l.* (which now waits your orders) and dated your receipt accordingly, which I delivered to Mr. Wetham, who paid me the money.

I do not pretend to tell you how matters go. Our friend says very bad. I am sanguine enough to hope not worse.

I am, with all possible esteem, ever yours,

WILLIAM THOMAS.

* Secretary to lord treasurer. See p. 405, and a note on a letter dated July 24, 1714.—A letter to the earl of Oxford from this Mr. Thomas, who retired into Wales, on the Antiquity of English and British Poetry, may be seen among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. N.

FROM DR. ARBUTHNOT.

DEAR BROTHER, KENSINGTON, JUNE 26, 1714.

I HAD almost resolved not to write to you, for fear of disturbing so happy a state as you describe. On the other hand, a little of the devil, that cannot endure any body should enjoy a paradise, almost provoked me to give you a long and melancholy state of our affairs. For you must know, that it is just my own case. I have with great industry endeavoured to live in ignorance, but at the same time would enjoy Kensington garden; and then some busy discontented body or another comes just cross me, and begins a dismal story; and before I go to supper, I am as full of grievances as the most knowing of them.

I will plague you a little, by telling you the dragon dies hard. He is now kicking and cuffing about him like the devil: and you know parliamentary management is the *forte*, but no hopes of any settlement between the two champions. The dragon said last night to my lady Masham and me, that it is with great industry he keeps his friends, who are very numerous, from pulling all to pieces. Gay had a hundred pounds in due time, and went away a happy man. I have solicited both lord treasurer and lord Bolingbroke strongly for the Parnelian, and gave them a memorial the other day. Lord treasurer speaks mighty affectionately of him, which you know is an ill sign in ecclesiastical preferments. Witness some, that you and I know.

I know, when the contrary was the best sign in the world. Pray remember Martin *, who is an innocent fellow, and will not disturb your solitude. The ridicule of medicine is so copious a subject, that I must only here and there touch it. I have made him study physick from the apothecaries bills, where there is a good plentiful field for a satire upon the present practice. One of his projects was, by a stamp upon blistering-plasters, and melilot by the yard, to raise money for the government, and to give it to Radcliffe and others to farm. But there was likely to be a petition from the inhabitants of London and Westminster, who had no mind to be flead. There was a problem about the doses of purging medicines published four years ago, showing that they ought to be in proportion to the bulk of the patient. From thence Martin endeavours to determine the question about the weight of the ancient men, by the doses of physick that were given them. One of his best inventions was a map of diseases for the three cavities of the body, and one for the external parts; just like the four quarters of the world. Then the great diseases are like capital cities, with their symptoms all like streets and suburbs, with the roads that lead to other diseases. It is thicker set with towns than any Flanders map you ever saw. Radcliffe is painted at the corner of the map, contending for the universal empire of this world, and the rest of the physicians opposing his ambitious designs, with a project of a treaty of partition to settle peace.

* Martinus Scriblerus; of whom Pope, Arbuthnot, and others, were to write the Memoirs. H.

There

There is an excellent subject of ridicule from some of the German physicians, who set up a sensitive soul as a sort of a first minister to the rational. Helmont calls him Archæus. Dolæus calls him Microcosmetor. He has under him several other genii, that reside in the particular parts of the body, particularly prince Cardimelech in the heart; Gasteronax in the stomach; and the plastick prince in the organs of generation. I believe I could make you laugh at the explication of distempers from the wars and alliances of those princes; and how the first minister gets the better of his mistress *anima rationalis*.

The best is, that it is making reprisals upon the politicians, who are sure to allegorise all the animal economy into state affairs. Pope has been collecting high flights of poetry, which are very good; they are to be solemn nonsense.

I thought upon the following the other day, as I was going into my coach, the dust being troublesome:

The dust in smaller particles arose,
Than those which fluid bodies do compose;
Contraries in extremes do often meet,
'Twas now so dry, that you might call it wet.

I do not give you these hints to divert you, but that you may have your thoughts, and work upon them.

I know you love me heartily, and yet I will not own, that you love me better than I love you. My lord and lady Masham love you too, and read your letter to me with pleasure. My lady says she will write to you, whether you write to her or not.—Dear friend, adieu.

TO LORD TREASURER OXFORD.

MY LORD, JULY 1, 1714.

WHEN I was with you, I have said more than once, that I would never allow quality or station made any real difference between men. Being now absent and forgotten *, I have changed my mind: you have a thousand people who can pretend they love you, with as much appearance of sincerity as I; so that, according to common justice, I can have but a thousandth part in return of what I give. And this difference is wholly owing to your station. And the misfortune is still the greater, because I always loved you just so much the worse for your station: for, in your publick capacity, you have often angered me to the heart; but, as a private man, never once. So that, if I only look toward myself, I could wish you a private man to-morrow: for I have nothing to ask; at least nothing that you will give, which is the same thing: and then you would see whether I should not with much more willingness attend you in a retirement, whenever you please to give me leave, than ever I did at London or Windsor. From these sentiments, I will never write to you, if I can help it, otherwise than as to a private person, or allow myself to have been obliged to you in any other capacity.

The memory of one great instance of your candour and justice, I will carry to my grave: that having been in a manner domestick with you for

* The Dean was now retired to Letcombe. See p. 389. N.

almost four years, it was never in the power of any publick or concealed enemy, to make you think ill of me, though malice and envy were often employed to that end. If I live, posterity shall know that, and more; which, though you, and somebody that shall be nameless, seem to value less than I could wish, is all the return I can make you. Will you give me leave to say how I would desire to stand in your memory? As one, who was truly sensible of the honour you did him, though he was too proud to be vain upon it: as one, who was neither assuming, officious, nor teasing; who never wilfully misrepresented persons or facts to you, nor consulted his passions when he gave a character: and lastly, as one, whose indiscretions proceeded altogether from a weak head, and not an ill heart. I will add one thing more, which is the highest compliment I can make, that I never was afraid of offending you, nor am now in any pain for the manner I write to you in. I have said enough; and, like one at your levee, having made my bow, I shrink back into the crowd.

I am, *&c.* JON. SWIFT.

FROM MR. BARBER.

HONOURED SIR, LONDON, JULY 6, 1714.

I HAD yours of the 3d instant, and am heartily glad of your being in health, which I hope will continue. Pray draw what bills you please: I will pay them on demand.

I will take care of Mrs. Rolt's affair. I wish you would write to her. I had a visit from Mrs. Brackley to-day; she gives her humble service, and desired my assistance with general Hill. I told her it was best to stay till there was a *master*; and I did not doubt but something would be done.

I fortunately met lord Bolingbroke yesterday, the minute I had your letter. I attacked him for some wine, and he immediately ordered you two dozen of red French wine, and one dozen of strong Aaziana white wine. The hamper will be sent to-morrow by Robert Stone the Wantage carrier, and will be there on Friday. I am afraid it will cost you 5*s*. to George, my lord's butler; but I would do nothing without order. My lord bid me tell you this morning, that he will write to you, and let you know, that as great a philosopher as you are, you have had the pip; that the publick affairs are carried on with the same zeal and quick dispatch as when you was here; nay, that they are improved in several particulars; that the same good understanding continues; that he hopes the world will be the better for your retirement; that your *inimitable* pen was never more wanted than now; and more, which I cannot remember. I believe he expects you should write to him. He spoke many affectionate and handsome things in your favour. I told him your story of the spaniel, which made him laugh heartily.

FROM MR. BARBER TO MR. FORD*.

SIR, LAMBETH HILL, JULY 6, 1714.

I THANKFULLY acknowledge the receipt of a packet† sent last Sunday. I have shewn it only to one person‡, who is charmed with it, and will make some small alterations and additions to it, with your leave. You will the easier give leave, when I tell you, that it is one of the best pens in England. Pray favour me with a line.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN BARBER.

FROM MR. THOMAS.

REVEREND SIR, JULY 6, 1714.

I SHOULD not have presumed to break in upon your retirement, nor so much as inquire for your address, had not the inclosed given me a fair occasion to ask after your health. I need not add any thing to what the papers will inform you touching

* This letter was disguisedly directed "To Samuel Bridges, esq. at St. Dunstan's coffee-house, Fleet-street;" and is thus endorsed by the Dean, "John Barber's letter about the pamphlet." N.

† "Free Thoughts on the present State of Affairs." B.

‡ This was lord Bolingbroke. See pp. 390, 412, 416, 418. N.

that

that affair. The person mentioned in the baron's letter has not yet called upon me. When you have endorsed the letter of attorney, please to return that and the baron's letter, that I may punctually follow his directions. I dare not mention any thing of politicks to one, that has purposely withdrawn himself from the din of it. I shall only tell you, that your friends applaud your conduct with relation to your own ease; but they think it hard you should abdicate at a juncture your friendship seems to be of most use to them. I am sure some of them want your advice, as well as assistance. You will forgive this digression from business, when I tell you I shall not repeat this trouble, not having so much as kept a copy of your direction. You may direct your commands to me, under cover, to our common friends. I hope you believe me too sensible of obligations to need formal assurances of the sincere respect, wherewith I am, reverend sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM THOMAS.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.*

SIR, WHITEHALL, JULY 6, 1714.

YOU give me such good reasons for your desire of knowing what becomes of our grand affair, that to oblige you, and perhaps to give myself vent, I

* Endorsed, "Lord treasurer Oxford begins to decline at court." N.

will

will tell you what I think on it. The two ladies * seem to have determined the fall of the dragon †, and to entertain a chimerical notion, that there shall be no *monsieur le premier*, but that all power shall reside in one, and profit in the other. The man of Mercury ‡ soothes them in this notion with great dexterity and reason, for he will be *monsieur le premier* then of course, by virtue of the little seal. His character is too bad to carry the great ensigns; therefore he takes another method, and I think it very artful, *viz.* to continue his present station, to which the power may altogether be as properly attached as to the wand. In this brangle I am no otherwise concerned, than that I must lose part of the pleasure I had in the conversation of my friends. And that I am really apprehensive the two ladies may suffer by the undertaking; for the man of Mercury's bottom is too narrow, his faults of the first magnitude; and we cannot find, that there is any scheme in the world how to proceed. Mercurialis § complains, that the dragon || has used him barbarously; that he is in with the democraticals, and never conferred a single obligation upon him since he had the wand. *Le temps nous éclaircira.*

I propose to move on the 2d of August to Bath, and to stay there, or go from thence, according as our chaos settles here. I believe I shall not go to Abercothy, otherwise I would attend you. Shall

* Lady Masham and duchess of Somerset. N.

† Lord treasurer Oxford. B.

‡ Lord Bolingbroke. B.

§ The same. B.

|| Lord treasurer. B

not

not we meet at Bath? Before I began this paragraph, I should have added something to the former, which is, that the dragon is accused of having betrayed his friends yesterday upon the matter of the three explanatory articles of the Spanish treaty of commerce, which he allowed not to be beneficial, and that the queen might better press for their being changed, if it was the sense of the house they ought to be so. The address then passed without a negative.

I thank you for the account you give me of the farm in Buckinghamshire. I could like the thing, and the price too very well; but when it comes to a point, I own my weakness to you. I can't work myself up to a resolution, while I have any hope of the 200*l.* a-year I told you of in my own parish; it lies now at sale; if I miss, I would catch greedily at the other.

When I am at the Bath I will set down the hints you desire.

FROM CHARLES FORD, ESQ.

LONDON, JULY 6*.

IF Barber be not a very great blockhead, I shall soon send you a letter in print, in answer to your last: I hope it may be next post, for he had it on Sunday. I took care to blot the *ees* out of *onely*,

* The year is omitted, but it should be 1714. This letter is endorsed, "Affairs go worse." H.

and

and the *as* out of *scheame*, which I suppose is the meaning of your question, whether I corrected it? I do not know any other alteration it wanted; and I made none except in one paragraph, that I changed the present to the past tense four times, and I am not sure I did right in it neither. There is so great a tenderness and regard shewn all along to the ——*, that I could have wished this expression had been out [" the uncertain timorous nature of the ——*"] But there was no striking it out without quite spoiling the beauty of the passage: and, as if I had been the author myself, I preferred beauty to discretion. I really think it is at least equal to any thing you have writ†; and I dare say it will do great service as matters stand at present.

The Colonel ‡ and his friends give the game for lost on their side; and I believe by next week we shall see lord Bolingbroke at the head of affairs. The bishop of Rochester is to be lord privy seal. They talk of several other alterations, as that my lord Trevor is to be president of the council; lord Abingdon, chamberlain; lord Anglesey, lord lieutenant of Ireland; that Mr. Bromley § is to go out, and a great many more in lesser employments. I fancy these reports are spread to draw in as many as they can to oppose the new scheme. I can

* These blanks are thus in the original. Query, should the word be *Queen*? H.

† The words which Mr. Ford says he could have wished to have blotted out, but spared for the beauty of the passage, are not to be found in the copy of the " Free Thoughts" printed in the Dean's works; nor is it easy to determine where they originally stood. N.

‡ Lord Oxford. H.

§ Secretary for the Northern provinces. H.

hardly

hardly think any body will be turned out of the cabinet, except the treasurer and the privy seal *. Perhaps my lord Poulett † may lay down. Certainly the secretary may continue in, if he pleases, and I do not hear that he is disposed to resign, or that he is so attached to any minister, as to enter into their resentments. What has John of Bucks ‡ done? and yet the report is very strong, that he is to be succeeded by my lord Trevor §. The duke of Shrewsbury was one out of eight or nine lords, that stood by my lord Bolingbroke yesterday, in the debate about the Spanish treaty, and spoke with a good deal of spirit. Is it likely he is to be turned out of all? The lords have made a representation to the queen, in which they desire her to surmount the insurmountable difficulties the Spanish trade lies under by the last treaty. It is thought there was a majority in the house to have prevented such a reflection upon the treaty, if they had come to a division. The clamour of the merchants, whig and tory, has been too great to have passed a vote in vindication of it, as it stands ratified. But my lord Anglesey and his squadron seemed willing to oppose any censure of it; and yet this representation was suffered to pass, nobody knows how. To-day they are to take into consideration the queen's answer to their address, desiring to know who advised her to ratify the explanation of the three articles? She sent them word she thought there was little difference between that and what was

* Lord Dartmouth. H.

† Lord Steward. H.

‡ John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire. B.

§ Lord chief justice of the common pleas. B.

signed

signed at Utrecht. When they rise I will tell you what they have done. The last money bill was sent up yesterday; so that in all probability the parliament will be up in two or three days, and then we shall be entertained with court affairs. I hope you got mine last post, and one a fortnight ago. Will the change of the ministry affect Elwood? He is in pain about it. I am told the people of Ireland are making a strong opposition against the present provost.

The consideration of the queen's answer is deferred till to-morrow. I am now with lord Guildford and three other commissioners of trade, who were examined to-day at the bar of the house of lords. They are prodigiously pleased with what has been done. But I do not understand it well enough to give you an account of it. For the rapture they are in hinders them from explaining themselves clearly. I can only gather from their manner of discourse, that they are come off without censure.

FROM THE SAME.

SIR, LONDON, FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1714.

WHAT answer shall I send? I am against any alteration; but additions, I think, ought by no means to be allowed. I wish I had called sooner at St. Dunstan's *; but I did not expect it would have come out till Thursday, and therefore did not

* This is explained by a note in p. 405. N.

go

go there till yesterday. Pray let me know what you would have done. Barber was a blockhead to show it at all; but who can help that? Write an answer either for yourself or me; but I beg of you to make no condescensions.

Yesterday put an end to the session. and to your pain. We gained a glorious victory at the house of lords the day before: the attack was made immediately against Arthur Moor*, who appeared at the bar, with the other commissioners of trade. The South Sea company had prepared the way for a censure, by voting him guilty of a breach of trust, and incapable of serving them in any office for the future. This passed without hearing what he had to say in his defence, and had the usual fate of such unreasonable reflections. Those, who proposed the resolutions, were blamed for their violence; and the person accused, appearing to be less guilty than they made him, was thought to be more innocent than I doubt he is. The whigs proposed two questions in the house of lords against him, and lost both, one by twelve, and the other, I think, by eighteen votes.

Court affairs go on as they did. The cry is still on the Captain's side †. Is not he the person Barber means by one of the best pens in England? It is only my own conjecture, but I can think of nobody else. Have you the queen's speech, the lords

* One of the commissioners of trade and plantations, who was accused of being bribed by the court of Spain, to favour that kingdom in the treaty of commerce made between it and England. B.

† Lord Bolingbroke; alluding to his difference with lord Oxford. H.

address,

address, &c. or shall I send them to you? and do you want a comment? Have Pope and Parnell been to visit you, as they intended?

I had a letter yesterday from Gay, who is at the Hague, and presents his humble service to you. He has writ to Mr. Lewis too, but his respect makes him keep greater distance with him: and I think mine is the pleasanter letter, which I am sorry for.

We were alarmed by B.* two days ago: he sent Tooke word, our friend was ill in the country which we did not know how to interpret, till he explained it. It was Mrs. M.† he meant; but she is in no danger. Pray, write immediately, that there may be no farther delay to what we ought to have had a week ago.

FROM DR. ARBUTHNOT‡.

DEAR BROTHER. KENSINGTON, JULY 10, 1714.

I HAVE talked of your affairs to nobody but my lady Masham. She tells me, "That she has it very much at heart, and would gladly do it for her own sake, and that of her friends; but thinks it not a fit season to speak about it." We are indeed in such a strange condition as to politicks, that nobody can tell now who is for who. It were really worth your while to be here for four-and-

* John Barber. H.

† Mrs. Manley, the writer of the Atalantis, who at that time lived with Mr. Barber. H.

‡ Endorsed, "Affairs still worse." N.

twenty

twenty hours only, to consider the oddness of the scene; I am sure it would make you relish your country life the better.

The dragon holds fast with a dead gripe the little machine *. If he would have taken but half so much pains to have done other things, as he has of late to exert himself against the esquire, he might have been a *Dragon* instead of a *Dagon*. I would no more have suffered and done what he has, than I would have sold myself to the gallies. *Hæc inter nos*. However, they have now got rid of the parliament, and may have time to think of a scheme: perhaps they may have one already. I know nothing, but it is fit to rally the broken forces under some head or another. They really did very well the last day but one in the house of lords; but yesterday they were in a flame about the queen's answer, till the queen came in, and put an end to it.

The dragon showed me your letter, and seemed mightily pleased with it. He has paid ten pounds for a manuscript of which I believe there are several in town. It is a history of the last invasion of Scotland, wrote just as plain, though not so well, as another history which you and I know †, with characters of all the men now living, the very names, and invitation that was sent to the pretender. This by a flaming jacobite, that wonders all the world are not so. Perhaps it may be a whig, that personates a jacobite. I saw two sheets of the beginning, which was treason every line. If it goes on at the same ate of plain dealing, it is a very extraordinary piece, and worth your while to come up to see it

* His treasurer's staff. H.

† History of the Four last Years. N.

only.

only. Mr. Lockhart, they say, owns it. It is no more his than it is mine. Do not be so dogged; but after the first shower, come up to town for a week or so. It is worth your while. Your friends will be glad to see you, and none more than myself. Adieu.

FROM LORD BOLINGBROKE *.

JULY 13, 1714.

I NEVER laughed, my dear Dean, at your leaving the town: on the contrary, I thought the resolution of doing so, at the time when you took it, a very wise one. But, I confess, I laughed, and very heartily too, when I heard that you affected to find, within the village of Letcombe, all your heart desired. In a word, I judged of you, just as you tell me in your letter, that I should judge. If my grooms did not live a happier life than I have done this great while, I am sure they would quit my service. Be pleased to apply this reflection. Indeed I wish I had been with you, with Pope and Parnell, *quibus neque animi candidiores.* In a little time, perhaps, I may have leisure to be happy. I continue in the same opinions and resolutions as you left me in; I will stand or fall by them. Adieu. No alteration in my fortune or circumstances can alter that sincere friendship with which I am, dear Dean, yours.

* Endorsed, "Lord Bolingbroke, on my retiring." N.

I fancy

I fancy you will have a visit from that great politician and casuist, the duke *. He is at Oxford with Mr. Clarke †.

FROM CHARLES FORD, ESQ.

LONDON, JULY 15, 1714.

YOU see I was in the right; but I could wish the booby ‡ had not convinced me by naming my lord Bolingbroke, and then I should have dealt well enough with him. Since it has happened so, the best remedy I could think of, was to write him a very civil answer; in which, however, I have desired to see the alterations: this is mentioned with great respect to my lord. Though he has promised to have it again to-morrow, it is probable he may be disappointed, and there may be time enough for me to receive your directions what I shall do, when I get it into my hands. If the alterations are material, shall I send it to some other printer as it was first written §? Reflect upon every thing you think likely to happen, and tell me beforehand

* Perhaps the duke of Ormond. H.

† George Clarke, doctor of laws, fellow of all Souls, who had been secretary to prince George of Denmark as lord high admiral, and was member of parliament for the university of Oxford. H.

‡ Barber. D. S.

§ This was the "Free Thoughts" (see p. 405.) The queen's death prevented the publication of it in those times; and it never appeared till the year 1741. D. S.

what

what is proper to be done, that no more time may be lost. I hate the dog for making his court in such a manner.

I am very sorry you have had occasion to remove your premier minister. We are told now, we shall have no change in ours, and that the duke of Shrewsbury will perfectly reconcile all matters. I am sure you will not believe this any more than I do; but the dragon * has been more cheerful than usual for three or four days; and therefore people conclude the breaches are healed. I rather incline to the opinion of those who say he is to be made a duke, and to have a pension. Another reason given why there is to be no change is, because the parliament was not adjourned to issue new writs in the room of those who where to come in upon the new scheme, that they might sit in the house at the next meeting. But I cannot see why an adjournment may not do as well at the beginning, as at the end of a session; and certainly it will displease less in January or February, than it would have done in July. The whigs give out the duke of Marlborough is coming over, and his house is actually now fitting up at St. James's. We have had more variety of lies of late than ever I remember. The history we were formerly talking of, would swell to a prodigious size, if it was carried on. There was a fire last night on Tower-hill, that burnt down forty or fifty houses. You say nothing of coming to town. I hope you do not mean to steal away to Ireland without seeing us.

* The earl of Oxford. D. S.

FROM THE SAME.

LONDON, JULY 17, 1714.

A SECOND to-morrow is almost past, and nothing has been yet left at St. Dunstan's *. Barber will lose by his prodigious cunning; but that is nothing to the punishment he deserves. Had it been only his fear, he would have chosen somebody else to consult with; but the rogue found it was well written, and saw the passages that galled. I am heartily vext at the other person †, from whom one might have expected a more honourable proceeding. There is something very mean in his desiring to make alterations, when I am sure he has no reason to complain, and is at least as fairly dealt with as his competitor ‡. Besides, a great part of it is as much for his service as if he had given directions himself to have it done. What relates to the pretender is of the utmost use to him; and therefore I am much surprised at his delay, as at his ungenerous manner of treating an unknown author, to whom he is so much obliged. But perhaps I may wrong him, and he would not desire to turn the whole to his own advantange. If it had come to me yesterday, or to-day, I was resolved to have sent it to some other printer without any amendment; but now I shall wait till I have your directions. I wish you had employed somebody else at

* See pp. 405, 411. N.

† Lord Bolingbroke. D. S.

‡ Lord Oxford. D. S.

first;

first; but what signifies wishing now? After what Barber writ in his last, I can hardly think he will be such a —— as not to let me have it; and in my answer I have given him all manner of encouragement to do it. He has as much assurance as he can well desire, that the alterations shall be complied with, and a possitive promise that it shall be returned to him the same day he leaves it at St. Dunstan's *.

I cannot imagine why we have no mischief yet. Sure we are not to be disappointed at last, after the bustle that has been made. It is impossible they † can ever agree, and I want something to make my letters still entertaining. I doubt you will hardly thank me for them, now the parliament is up; but as soon as any thing happens you shall know it.

The queen has not yet appointed the time for removing to Windsor. My lord chief baron Ward is dead, and we have already named seven successors, among whom is our lord chancellor Phipps. Frank Annesley was to have had his place under my lord Anglesey, so that it is well for him we have provided him with another for life.

* See two other letters from Mr. Ford, on the subject of this pamphlet, July 22 and 24, pp. 431, 432. It appears, by Mr. Barber's letter of July 6, p. 405, that he did not know the real author. N.

† Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke. D. S.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

JULY 17, 1714.

I AM sorry to find by those that have fresher advices from you than yours of the eleventh to me, that Parvisol's * conduct puts you under a necessity of changing the administration; for it will probably draw you to Ireland whether you will or not. However, I hope to see you at Bath three weeks hence, whatever happens. I meet with no man or woman, who pretend upon any probable grounds to judge who will carry the great point. Our female friend [A] told the Dragon [B] in her own house, last Thursday morning, these words; "You never did the queen any service, nor are you capable of doing her any." He made no reply, but supped with her and Mercurialis [C] that night, at her own house. His revenge is not the less meditated for that. He tells the words clearly and distinctly to all mankind. Those, who range under his banner, call her ten thousand bitches and kitchen wenches. Those who hate him do the same. And from my heart, I grieve that she should give such a loose to her passion; for she is susceptible of true friendship, and has many social and domestick virtues. The

* Dr. Swift's agent in Ireland. The Dean's observations on the names marked A, B, C, are thus written on the blank part of the original letter:

[A] "Mrs. Masham, who was the queen's favorite, fell out in a rage, reproaching lord Oxford very injuriously."

[B] The Dragon, lord treasurer Oxford, so called by the Dean by contraries; for he was the mildest, wisest, and best minister that ever served a prince."

[C] "Lord Bolingbroke, called so by Mr. Lewis." H.

great

great Attorney *, who made you the sham offer of the Yorkshire living, had a long conference with the dragon on Thursday, kissed him at parting, and cursed him at night. He went to the country yesterday; from whence some conjecture nothing considerable will be done soon. Lord Harley † and Lady Harriot ‡ went this morning to Oxford. He has finished all matters with lord Pelham §, as far as can be done without an act of Parliament. The composition was signed by the auditor, and Naylor, brother-in-law to Pelham. This day se'nnight lord Harley is to have the whole Cavendish estate, which is valued at ten thousand *per annum*, and has upon it forty thousand pounds worth of timber. But three out of this ten thousand a year he had by the will. He remits to lord Pelham the twenty thousand pounds charged for lady Harriot's fortune on the Holles estate; and gives him some patches of land, that lie convenient to him, to the value of about twenty thousand pounds more. According to my computation, lord Harley gets by the agreement (if the timber is worth forty thousand pounds) one hundred and forty. thousand pounds; and when the jointures fall in to him, will have sixteen thousand pounds a year. But the cant is, twenty-six thousand. Lord Pelham will really have twenty-six thousand pounds a year from the Newcastle family, which, with his paternal estate, will be twice as much as lord Harley's. The estate of the latter is judged to be in the best condition; and some vain glorious friends of ours say, it is worth more than the others; but let that pass. Adieu.

* Perhaps lord chancellor Harcourt. H.

† Edward, son to the lord treasurer Oxford. B.

‡ Wife of lord Harley. B.

§ Afterward duke of Newcastle. B.

FROM LORD HALEY.

BROTHER SWIFT *, JULY 17, 1714.

YOUR sister † has at last got rid of her lawyers. We are just setting out for Oxford, where we hope to see you. I am your affectionate brother,

HARLEY.

FROM DR. ARBUTHNOT.

DEAR BROTHER, LONDON, JULY, 17, 1714.

I THOUGHT it necessary to speak to lady Masham about that affair, because I believe it will be necessary to give her majesty the same notion of it, which the memorial does ‡, and not that you are asking a little scandalous salary for a sinecure. Lewis despairs of it, and thinks it quite over since a certain affair. I will not think so. I gave your letter, with the enclosed memorial, cavalièrement, to lord Bolingbroke. He read it, and seemed concerned at some

* A company of sixteen, all men of the first class, Swift included, dined once a week at the house of each other, by rotation, and went under the general denomination of Brothers. The number was afterwards enlarged, and they dined at a tavern every Thursday. Lord Harley was one, which accounts for the address of this letter. H.

† Lady Henrietta Harley, wife of lord Harley. H.

‡ Swift's memorial to the queen, humbly desiring her majesty to appoint him Historiographer. It is printed in the sixth volume of this collection. N.

part

part of it, expressing himself thus: "That it would be among the eternal scandals of the government to suffer a man of your character, that had so well deserved of them, to have the least uneasy thought about those matters." As to the fifty pounds, he was ready to pay it; and if he had had it about him, would have given it me. The dragon was all the while walking with the duke of Shrewsbury. So my lord Bolingbroke told me, "I would immediately stir in this matter, but I know not how I stand with some folks;" for the duke of Shrewsbury has taken himself to the dragon in appearance. "I know how I stand with that man (pointing to the dragon), but as to the other, I cannot tell; however, I will claim his promise:" and so he took the memorial.

Do not think I make you a bare compliment in what I am going to say; for I can assure you I am in earnest. I am in hopes to have two hundred pounds before I go out of town, and you may command all or any part of it you please, as long as you have occasion for it. I know what you will say; "To see a scoundrel pretend to offer to lend me money." Our situation at present is in short thus: they have *rompu en visière* with the dragon, and yet do not know how to do without him. My lady Masham has in a manner bid him defiance, without any scheme, or likeness of it in any form or shape, as far as I can see. Notwithstanding he visits, cringes, flatters, &c. which is beyond my comprehension.

I have a very comical account of Letcombe, and the Dean of St. Patrick's, from Pope, with an episode of the burning glass. I was going to make an

epigram

epigram upon the imagination of your burning your own history with the burning glass. I wish Pope or Parnell would put it into rhyme. The thought is this: Apollo speaks; "that since he had inspired you to reveal those things which were hid, even from his own light, such as the feeble springs of some great events; and perceiving that a faction who could not bear their deeds to be brought to light, had condemned it to an ignominious flame; that it might not perish so, he was resolved to consume it with his own; a celestial one." And then you must conclude with some simile. Thus, *&c.* There are two or three that will fit it.

Whiston has at last published his project of the longitude; the most ridiculous thing that ever was thought on. But a pox on him! he has spoiled one of my papers of Scriblerus, which was a proposal for the longitude, not very unlike his, to this purpose; that since there was no pole for East and West, that all the princes of Europe should join and build two prodigious poles, upon high mountains, with a vast light-house to serve for a pole star. I was thinking of a calculation of the time, charges, and dimensions. Now you must understand, his project is by light-houses, and explosion of bombs at a certain hour.

Lewis invited me to dinner to-day, and has disappointed me. I thought to have said something more about you. I have nothing more to add, but, my dear friend, adieu.

TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND*.

MY LORD, JULY 17, 1714.

I NEVER expected that a great man should remember me in absence, because I knew it was unreasonable, and that your grace is too much troubled with persons about you, to think of those who are out of the way. But, if Dr. Pratt has done me right, I am mistaken; and your grace has almost declared that you expected a letter from me; which you should never have had, if the ministry had been like you: for then I should have always been near enough to have carried my own messages. But I was heartily weary of them: and your grace will be my witness, that I despaired of any good success, from their manner of proceeding, some months before I left town; where I thought it became me to continue no longer, when I could do no service either to myself, my friends, or the publick. By the accounts I have from particular friends, I find the animosity between the two great men does not at all diminish: though I hear it is given out that your grace's successor † has undertaken a general reconcilement. If it be true, this will succeed like the rest of his late undertakings.

I must beg your grace's pardon, If I entreat you, for several reasons, to see lady Masham as often as

* The duke of Ormond was lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1710. He succeeded the duke of Marlborough in the command of the army; and his duchess was lady of the bedchamber. H.

† The Duke of Shrewsbury. D. S.

you conveniently can: and I must likewise desire you to exert yourself in the disposal of the bishopricks in Ireland. It is a scandal to the crown, and an injury to the church, that they should be so long delayed. There are some hot-headed people on the other side the water, who understand nothing of our court, and would confound every thing; always employed to raise themselves upon the ruins of those characters they have blasted. I wish their intermedling may not occasion a worse choice than your grace approved of last winter. However, I beg you will take care that no injury be done to Dr. Pratt, or Dr. Elwood; who have more merit and candour than a hundred of their detractors. I am, with the greatest respect, my lord,

Your grace's most obedient,
and most obliged humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

FROM CHARLES FORD, ESQ.

LONDON, JULY 20, 1714.

WHO would ever do any thing for them, when they are so negligent of their own interest? The captain must see what use it would be to him to have it published, and yet he has not returned it. You have another copy by you: I wish you would send it; and if you do not care it should appear in your own hand, I will get it transcribed. My

secretary

secretary is a boy of ten or eleven years old, and no discovery can be made by him. I do not know what my lord Bolingbroke may do, but I dare say Barber does not suspect from whence it comes. However, I wonder he has not mentioned it to you *.

I thought you had heard the historiographer's place had been disposed of this fortnight. I know no more of him who has it, than that his name is Madox †. It would be impudence in them to send for you; but I hope you will come. A reconcilement is impossible; and I can guess no reason why matters are delayed, unless it be to gain over some lords, who stick firm to the dragon, and others that are averse to the captain ‡. The duke of Shrewsbury declares against him in private conversation; I suppose because he is against every chief minister, for it is known he has no kindness for the colonel §. Lord Anglesey rails at the chancellor, for some opinion the attorney and solicitor general have given relating to Ireland. Who can act, when they have so much caprice to deal with?

Mr. Lewis says, "he will speak to Mr. Bromley for his part, and will engage it shall be paid as soon as lord Bolingbroke has given his." But it was mentioned before my lord treasurer, and he immediately took the whole upon himself. If they lived near one another, and a house between them was on fire, I fancy they would contend who should put it out, until the whole street were burned.

* This relates to the "Free Thoughts." H.

† Thomas Madox, esq. H.

‡ Lord Bolingbroke. H.

§ Lord Oxford. H.

Mr

Mr. Lewis goes into Wales the week after next. I shall have the whole town to myself. Now it is my own, I begin not to value it. Pope and Parnell tell me, you design them a visit. When do you go? If you are with them in the middle of a week, I should be glad to meet you there. Let me know where you are to be in Herefordshire, and I will send you some claret. It is no compliment, for I am overstocked, and it will decay before I drink it. You shall have either old or new; I have too much of both.

I paid the woman for your hankerchiefs; but should not have given her so much, if she had not assured me you had agreed with her. I think you may very well shake off the old debt, and she will have no reason to complain. So I told her; but if you would have me, I will pay her.

Pray send me the other copy *, or put me in a way of recovering the former. I am, &c.

FROM THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

SIR, JULY 22, 1714.

I AM very glad to hear from you. I thought you had hid yourself from the world, and given over all thoughts of your friends. I am very sorry for the reason of your retirement. I am a witness to your endeavours to have made up, what I believe the

* Of the "Free Thoughts." H.

great

great man you mention will hardly compass. I am of your opinion, that it is shameful that the vacant bishopricks are not disposed of. I shall do all that lies in my power, to serve the gentlemen that I have already mentioned to the queen, and hope with good success.

For the lady you mention *, I shall endeavour to see her as often as I can. She is one that I have a great esteem for. I send you some Burgundy, which I hope you will like. It is very good to cure the spleen. Believe me, with great truth, sir, your most affectionate friend, and humble servant,

ORMOND.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

SIR, WHITEHALL, JULY 22, 1714.

I RECEIVED a letter from you last Monday, for my lord treasurer, in a blank cover. Last Friday lord chancellor went into the country, with a design to stay there till the tenth of August; but last Tuesday he was sent for express by lord Bolingbroke. Next Tuesday the queen goes to Windsor. What changes we are to have, will probably appear before she goes. Dr. Arbuthnot dines with me to-day, and in the evening we go to Kensington.

* Lady Masham. D. S.

FROM CHARLES FORD, ESQ.

LONDON, JULY 22, 1714.

PRAY send me the other copy, and let us have the benefit of it, since you have been at the trouble of writing. Unless ———— * be served against his will, it is not likely to be done at all; but I think you used to take a pleasure in good offices of that kind; and I hope you would not let the cause suffer; though I must own, in this particular, the person who has the management of it does not deserve any favour. Nothing being left for me at St. Dunstan's, I sent to Barber for an answer to my last. He says, it is not yet restored to him; as soon as it is, I shall have it. This delay begins to make me think all ministers are alike; and as soon as the captain is a colonel, he will act as his predecessors have done.

The queen goes to Windsor next Tuesday, and we expect all matters will be settled before that time. We have had a report, that my lord privy seal is to go out alone; but the learned only laugh at it. The captain's † friends think themselves secure; and the colonel's ‡ are so much of the same opinion, that they only drink his health while he is yet alive. However it is thought he will fall easy, with a pension of four thousand pounds a-year, and a dukedom. Most of the staunch tories are pleased with

* The blank should probably be filled up with "lord treasurer." N.

† Bolingbroke. H.

‡ Oxford. H.

the alteration: and the whimsicals pretend the cause of their disgust was, because the whigs were too much favoured.

In short, we propose very happy days to ourselves as long as this reign lasts; and if the *uncertain timorous nature of* ——— * does not disappoint us, we have a very fair prospect. The dragon and his antagonist † meet every day at the cabinet. They often eat, and drink, and walk together, as if there was no sort of disagreement; and when they part, I hear they give one another such names, as nobody but ministers of state could bear, without cutting throats. The duke of Marlborough is expected here every day. Dr. Garth says, he comes only to drink the Bristol waters for a diabetes. The whigs are making great preparations to receive him. But yesterday I was offered considerable odds, that not one of those, who go out to meet him, will visit him in half a year. I durst not lay, though I can hardly think it. My lord Marr is married to lady Frances Pierrepoint; and my lord Dorchester, her father, is to be married next week to lady Bell Bentinck. Let me know if you go to Pope's, that I may endeavour to meet you there. I am, *&c.*

* See before, p. 409. N.

† Bolingbroke. H.

FROM THE SAME.

LONDON, JULY 24, 1714.

WE expected the grand affair would have been done yesterday, and now every body agrees it will be to-night *. The bishop of London, lord Bathurst, Mr. Bridges, sir William Windham, and Campion, are named for Commissioners of the treasury; but I have not sufficient authority for you to depend upon it. They talk of the duke of Ormond for our lord lieutenant. I cannot get the pamphlet back. What shall I do? I wish you would send me the other copy. My lord Anglesey goes next Monday to Ireland. I hear he is only angry with the chancellor, and not at all with the captain.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

WHITEHALL, JULY 24, 1714.

I SAW lord Harley this morning. He tells me, that he left you horridly in the dumps. I wish you were here; for after giving a quarter of an hour's vent to our grief for the departure of our don Quixote †, we should recover ourselves, and

* The dismission of lord Oxford. H.

† Lord Oxford, who was just at this time dismissed from his employment as first minister, and immediately succeeded by lord Bolingbroke. On Thursday the 27th of the same month he surrendered his staff as lord treasurer; and on the 30th lord Shrewsbury was appointed to succeed him in that office. H.

receive

receive consolation from each other. The triumph of the enemy makes me mad. I feel a strange tenderness within myself, and scarce bear the thoughts of dating letters from this place, when my old friend is out, whose fortune I have shared for so many years. But *fiat voluntas tua!* The damned thing is, we are to do all dirty work. We are to turn out Monckton*, and I hear we are to pass the new commission of the treasury. For God's sake write to lady Masham, in favour of poor Thomas †, to preserve him from ruin. I will second it. I intended to have writ you a long letter: but the moment I had turned this page, I had intelligence that the dragon has broke out in a fiery passion with my lord chancellor ‡, sworn a thousand oaths he would be revenged, &c. This impotent, womanish behaviour vexes me more than his being out. This last stroke shows, *quantula sint hominum corpuscula.* I am determined for the Bath on the second or the ninth of August at farthest.

* Robert Monckton, one of the commissioners for trade and plantations, who had given information against Arthur Moore, one of his brother commissioners, for accepting a bribe from the Spanish court, to get the treaty of commerce continued. H.

† Mr. Thomas had been secretary under the old commission of the treasury: and he wrote to the Dean by the same post, for a recommendation to lady Masham, either to be continued in the same office under the new commissioners, or to be considered in some other manner, by way of compensation. He urges a precedent for this, in the case of his predecessor; who, being removed from his post of secretary, got the office of comptroller of the lotteries, worth 500*l.* a-year, for 32 years. See pp. 398, 405. H.

‡ Lord Harcourt. H.

FROM DR. ARBUTHNOT.

DEAR BROTHER, JULY 24, 1714.

I SUPPOSE you have read the account of St. Kilda. There is an officer there, who is a sort of *tribunus plebis*, whose office it is to represent the grievances of the people to the laird of M'Leod, who is supposed to be their oppressor. He is bound to contradict the laird, till he gives him three strokes with a cane over the head, and then he is at liberty to submit. This I have done, and so has your friend Lewis. It has been said that we and the dean were the authors of all that has since happened, by keeping the dragon in, when there was an offer to lay down. I was told to my face, that what I said in this case went for nothing; that I did not care, if the great person's affairs went to entire ruin, so I could support the interests of the dragon; that I did not know the half of his proceedings. Particularly it was said, though I am confident it was a mistake, that he had attempted the removing her from the favour of a great person. In short, the fall of the dragon does not proceed altogether from his old friend, but from the great person, whom I perceive to be highly offended, by little hints that I have received. In short, the dragon has been so ill used, and must serve upon such terms for the future, if he should, that I swear I would not advise Turk, Jew, nor infidel, to be in that state. Come up to town, and I can tell you more. I have been but indifferently treated myself, by somebody at court, in small concerns. I cannot tell who it is! But mum for that. Adieu.

TO THE EARL OF OXFORD *.

MY LORD, JULY 25, 1714.

TO-MORROW sevennight I shall set out from hence to Ireland: my license for absence being so near out, that I can stay no longer without taking another. I say this, that if you have any commands, I shall have just time enough to receive them before I go. And if you resign in a few days, as I am told you design to do, you may possibly retire to Herefordshire, where I shall readily attend you, if you soon withdraw; or, after a few months' stay in Ireland, I will return at the beginning of winter, if you please to command me. I speak in the dark, because I am altogether so, and what I say may be absurd. You will please to pardon me; for, as I am wholly ignorant, so I have none of your composure of mind. I pray God Almighty direct and defend you, &c.

FROM THE EARL OF OXFORD.

JULY 27, 1714 †.

IF I tell my dear friend the value I put upon his undeserved friendship, it will look like suspecting you or myself. Though I have had no power since

* On hearing his intentions to resign his staff. D. S.

† Endorsed, "Just before the loss of his staff." N.

July 25, 1713 *, I believe now, as a private man, I may prevail to renew your license of abscence, conditionally you will be present with me; for to-morrow morning I shall be a private person. When I have settled my domestick affairs here, I go to Wimple; thence alone, to Herefordshire. If I have not tired you *tête-à-tête*, fling away so much time upon one who loves you. And I believe, in the mass of souls, ours were placed near each other.

I send you an imitation of Dryden, as I went to Kensington:

To serve with love,
And shed your blood,
Approved is above.
But here below,
Th' examples show,
'Tis fatal to be good.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

SIR, WHITEHALL, JULY 27, 1714.

I HAVE yours of the 25th. You judge very right; it is not the going out, but the manner, that enrages me. The queen has told all the lords the reasons

* The earl of Oxford, in his "Brief Account of Public Affairs," "presented to the queen on the 9th of June, 1714, and published in the Report of the Secret Committee," mentions, that he wrote a large letter, dated July 25, 1713, to lord Bolingbroke, "containing his scheme of the queen's affairs, and what was necessary for lord Bolingbroke to do; which letter was answered by that lord on the 27th of that month. B.

of

of her parting with him, *viz.* " that he neglected all business; that he was seldom to be understood; that when he did explain himself, she could not depend upon the truth of what he said; that he never came to her at the time she appointed; that he often came drunk; lastly, to crown all, he behaved himself toward her with bad manners, indecency, and disrespect."—*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis, &c.*

I am distracted with the thoughts of this, and the pride of the conqueror *. I would give the world I could go out of town to-morrow; but the secretary says I must not go till he returns, which will not be till the sixteenth of August, or perhaps the twenty-third; but I am in hopes I may go toward Bath the sixteenth.

The runners are already employed to go to all the coffee-houses. They rail to the pit of Hell. I am ready to burst for want of vent.

The stick † is yet in his hand, because they cannot agree who shall be the new commissioners. We suppose the blow will be given to-night or to-morrow morning. The sterility of good and able men is incredible. When the matter is over, I

* Lord Bolingbroke. H.

† On the night of Tuesday, July 27, the day on which this letter is dated, a cabinet council was held (after the earl of Oxford had resigned the staff, which he did on that day) to consult what persons to put in commission for the management of the treasury. The number to be five. Sir William Wyndham, chancellor of the exchequer, was to be one: but they could not agree in the choice of the other four. Their debate about the matter lasted till near two o'clock in the morning, at which the queen being present, it raised a violent agitation in her spirits, which affected her head. H.

will

will wait upon our she friend *. If she receives me as usual, I will propose to her, that I will serve where I do, provided I may be countenanced, and at full liberty to pay my duty to all the Harleian family in the same manner I used to do. If that is not allowed me in the utmost extent, consistent with my trust here, I will propose an employment in the revenues, or to go out without any thing; for I will not be debarred going to him. If she does not receive me as she used to do, I will never go again. I flatter myself she will be so friendly as to enter into the consideration of my private circumstances, and preserve her old goodness to me.

There is no seeing the dragon till he is out, and then I will know his thoughts about your coming to Brampton. I hear he goes out of town instantly to Wimple, and my lady to Brampton; that he will join her there, after a few days stay at Wimple. Adieu.

FROM LADY MASHAM.

MY GOOD FRIEND, JULY 29, 1714.

I OWN it looks unkind in me not to thank you, in all this time, for your sincere kind letter; but I was resolved to stay till I could tell you the queen had got so far the better of the dragon, as to take her power out of his hands. He has been the most

* Lady Masham. H.

ungrateful

ungrateful man to her, and to all his best friends, that ever was born. I cannot have so much time now to write all my mind, because my dear mistress is not well, and I think I may lay her illness to the charge of the treasurer, who, for three weeks together, was teasing and vexing her without intermission! and she could not get rid of him till Tuesday last *. I must put you in mind of one passage in your letter to me, which is, "I pray God send you wise and faithful friends to advise you at this time, when there are so great difficulties to struggle with." That is very plain and true; therefore will you, who have gone through so much, and taken more pains than any body, and given wise advice (if that wretched man had had sense enough and honesty to have taken it) I say, will you leave us and go into Ireland? No, it is impossible, your goodness is still the same, your charity and compassion for this poor lady, who has been barbarously used, would not let you do it. I know you take delight to help the distressed; and there cannot be a greater object than this good lady, who deserves pity. Pray, dear friend, stay here; and do not believe us all alike to throw away good advice, and despise every body's understanding but their own. I could say a great deal upon the subject, but I must go to her, for she is not well. This comes to you by a safe hand, so that neither of us need be in any pain about it.

My lord and brother are in the country. My sister and girls are your humble servants.

* July 27. N.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

SIR, JULY 29, 1714.

I HAVE yours of the 27th. I write this in the morning, for I go in the evening to Kensington. If I am well received, I will continue my homage if not, they shall hear of me no more. Where shall I write to you again? for I cannot stir from hence; till the 16th of August at soonest. Nothing could please me more than to pass a few months with you at Abercothy *; but I am yet uncertain whether I shall go there at all. All I am sure of is, that I will go out of town to some place for some time; first to the Bath, for I cannot bear staying in this room. I want physick to help my digestion of these things, though the 'squire † is kinder to me than before. I am not mortified at what you tell me of *Mercurialis:* only I would know, whether any disrespectful conduct of mine has brought it upon me; or whether it is only a general dislike of me, because I am not a man of parts, or because I am in other interests? They would not give the dragon the least quarter, excepting only a pension, if he will work journeywork by the quarter. I have long thought his parts decayed, and am more of that opinion than ever. The new commission is not yet named. Would not the world have roared against the dragon for such a thing? *Mercurialis*

* In Caermarthenshire, of which county Mr. Lewis was a native. B.

† William Bromley, esq. secretary of state. B.

entertained Stanhope, Craggs, Pulteney, and Walpole. What if the dragon had done so? The duke of Somerset dines to-day with the fraternity at Greenwich, with Withers. Nobody goes out with the dragon; but many will sit very loose. Some say the new men will be Lexington, Wyndham, Strangeways, sir John Stonehouse, and Campion.

FROM MR. BARBER.

DEAR SIR, JULY 13, 1714. SIX AT NIGHT.

I AM heartily sorry I should be the messenger of so ill news, as to tell you the queen is dead, or dying: if alive, it is said, she cannot live till morning. You may easily imagine the confusion we are all in on this sad occasion. I had set out yesterday to wait on you, but for this sad accident, and should have brought letters from lord Bolingbroke and lady Masham, to have prevented your going. Pray do not go, for I will come to you when I see how things stand. My lord Shrewsbury is made lord treasurer, and every thing is ready for the proclaiming the duke of Brunswick king of England. The parliament will sit to-morrow, and choose a new speaker; for sir Thomas * is in Wales.

For God's sake do not go; but either come to London, or stay till I come to you.

* Hanmer. H.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

KENSINGTON, SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1714,
SIR, SIX IN THE EVENING.

AT the same time I am writing, the breath is said to be in the queen's nostrils; but that is all. No hope left of her recovery. Lord Oxford is in council; so are the whigs. We expect the demise to-night. There is a prospect, that the Elector will meet with no opposition; the French having no fleet, nor being able to put one out soon. Lady Masham did receive me kindly. Poor woman, I heartily pity her. Now, is not the dragon born under a happy planet, to be out of the scrape? Dr. Arbuthnot thinks you should come up. You will not wonder if all my country resolutions are in suspense. Pray come up, to see how things go.

FROM CHARLES FORD, ESQ.

LONDON, JULY 31, 1714.
THREE IN THE AFTERNOON.

I DO not doubt but you have heard the queen is dead, and perhaps we may be so unfortunate before this comes to you; but at present she is alive, and much better than could have been expected. I am just come from Kensington, where I have almost spent these two whole days. I am in great haste:

but, till dinner comes up, I will write to you, and give you as full an account as I can of her illness.

Her disorder began between eight and nine yesterday morning. The doctors ordered her head to be shaved; and while it was doing, she fell into a fit of convulsion, or as they thought an apoplexy. This lasted near two hours, and she was speechless, and shewed little sign of life during that time; but came to herself upon being blooded.

As soon as she recovered, my lord Bolingbroke went to her, and told her the privy council was of opinion, it would be for the public service to have the duke of Shrewsbury made lord treasurer. She immediately consented, and gave the staff into the duke's hands. The great seal was put to the patent by four o'clock. She continued ill the whole day. In the evening I spoke to Dr. Arbuthnot, and he told me he did not think her distemper was desperate. Radcliffe was sent for to Carshalton about noon, by order of council; but said he had taken physick, and could not come. In all probability he had saved her life; for I am told the late lord Gower had been often in the same condition with the gout in his head; and Radcliffe kept him alive many years after *. This morning, when I went there before

* In the account that is given of Dr. Radcliffe, in the Biographia Britannica, it is said that the queen was "struck with death the 28th of July: that Dr. Radcliffe's name was not once mentioned, either by the queen or any lord of the council; only that lady Masham sent to him without their knowledge, two hours before the queen's death." In this letter from Mr. Ford to Dr. Swift, which is dated the 31st of July, it is said, that the queen's disorder began between eight and nine the morning before, which was the 30th; and that about noon, the same day, Radcliffe was sent for by an order of council. These accounts being

nine, they told me she was just expiring. That account continued above three hours, and a report

being contradictory, the reader will probably want some assistance to determine what were the facts. As to the time when the queen was taken ill, Mr. Ford's account is most likely to be true, as he was upon the spot, and in a situation which insured him the best intelligence. As to the time when the doctor was sent for, the account in the Biographia is manifestly false; for if the doctor had been sent for only two hours before the queen's death, which happened incontestibly on the first of August, Mr. Ford could not have mentioned the fact on the 31st of July, when his letter was dated. Whether Radcliffe was sent for by lady Masham, or by order of council, is therefore the only point to be determined. That he was generally reported to have been sent for by order of council, is certain; but a letter is printed in the Biographia, said to have been written by the doctor to one of his friends, which, supposing it to be genuine, will prove, that the doctor maintained the contrary. On the fifth of August, four days after the queen's death, a member of the house of commons, a friend of the doctor's, who was also a member, and one who always voted on the same side, moved, that he might be summoned to attend in his place, in order to be censured for not attending on her majesty. Upon this occasion the doctor is said to have written the following letter to another of his friends.

" DEAR SIR, CARSHALTON, AUG. 7, 1714.

" I COULD not have thought, that so old an acquaintance, and so good a friend, as sir John always professed himself, would have made such a motion against me. God knows my will to do her majesty any service has ever got the start of my ability; and I have nothing that gives me greater anxiety and trouble than the death of that great and glorious princess. I must do that justice to the physicians that attended her in her illness, from a sight of the method that was taken for her preservation by Dr. Mead, as to declare nothing was omitted for her preservation; but the people about her, the plagues of Egypt fall on them, put it out of the power of physick to be of any benefit to her. I know the nature of attending crowned heads in their last moments too well to be fond of waiting upon them, without being sent for by a proper authority. You have heard of pardons being

was carried to town, that she was actually dead. She was not prayed for, even at her own chapel at

being signed for physicians, before a sovereign's demise; however, ill as I was, I would have went to the queen in a horse-litter, had either her majesty, or those in commission next to her, commanded me so to do. You may tell sir John as much, and assure him from me, that his zeal for her majesty will not excuse his ill usage of a friend, who has drank many a hundred bottles with him; and cannot, even after this breach of a good-understanding that ever was preserved between us, but have a very good esteem for him. I must also desire you to thank Tom Chapman for his speech in my behalf, since I hear it is the first he ever made, which is taken more kindly; and to acquaint him, that I should be glad to see him at Carshalton; since I fear (for so the gout tells me) that we shall never more sit in the house of commons together. I am, &c.

"JOHN RADCLIFFE."

But whatever credit may now be paid to this letter, or however it may now be thought to justify the doctor's refusal to attend her majesty, he became at that time so much the object of popular resentment, that he was apprehensive of being assassinated: as appears by the following letter directed to Dr. Mead, at Child's coffee-house in St. Paul's Church-yard.

"DEAR SIR, CARSHALTON, AUG. 3, 1714.

"I GIVE you, and your brother, many thanks for the favour you intend me to-morrow; and if there is any other friend, that will be agreeable to you, he shall meet with a hearty welcome from me. Dinner shall be on the table by two, when you may be sure to find me ready to wait upon you. Nor shall I be at any other time from home, because I have received several letters, which threaten me with being pulled to pieces, If ever I come to London. After such menaces as these, it is easy to imagine, that the conversation of two such very good friends is not only extremely desirable, but the enjoyment of it will be a great happiness and satisfaction to him, who is, &c.

"JOHN RADCLIFFE."

Radcliffe died on the first of November the same year, having survived the queen just three months; and it is said, that the dread he had of the populace, and the want of company in the country

St. James's; and what is more infamous, stocks arose three *per cent.* upon it in the city. Before I came away, she had recovered a warmth in her breast and one of her arms, and all the doctors agreed she would in all probability hold out till to-morrow, except Mead, who pronounced several hours before, she could not live two minutes, and seems uneasy it did not happen so. I did not care to talk much to Arbuthnot, because I heard him cautious in his answers to other people; but by his manner, I fancy he does not yet absolutely despair. The council sat yesterday all day and night, taking it by turns to go out and refresh themselves. They have now adjourned, upon what the doctors said, till five. Last night the speaker and my lord chief justice Parker were sent for, and the troops from Flanders. This morning the Hanoverian envoy was ordered to attend with the black box *, and the heralds to be in readiness to proclaim the new king. Some of the whigs were at council yesterday but not one failed to-day; and most of the members of that party, in each house, are already come to town. If any change happens before the post goes out, I will send you word in a postscript; and you may conclude her alive, if you hear no more from me, and have no better authority than post-letters to inform you of the contrary. For God's sake do not think of removing from the place where you are, till

country village, which he did not dare to leave, shortened his life. He was just 64 years old. He was buried in St. Mary's church, Oxford. H.

* Containing the instrument nominating the persons, in number thirteen, to be added as lords justices to the seven great officers of the realm. H.

matters

matters are a little settled. Ireland is the last retreat you ought to think of; but you can never be better than you are now, till we see how things go.

I had yours with the printed pamphlet, as well as the other, and should have sent it away to-morrow. Pray let me hear from you, * * * * * †.

Have you had all mine? I have failed you but one post (I think it was the last) for a fortnight or more.

ELEVEN AT NIGHT.

The queen is something better, and the council again adjourned till eight in the morning.

TO MISS VANHOMRIGH.

AUG. 1, 1714.

WHO told you, I was going to Bath? No such thing. I had fixed to set out to-morrow for Ireland, but poor lord Oxford desires I will go with him to Herefordshire, and only expect his answer whether I shall go there before, or meet him hereabouts; or to Wimple (his son's house), and so go with him down: and I expect to leave this in two or three days one way or other. I will stay with him until the parliament meets again, if he desires it. I am not of your opinion about lord Bolingbroke; perhaps he may get the staff, but I cannot rely on his love to me: he knew I had a mind to be historiographer, though I valued it not, but for

† In the original six lines are here erased. N.

the

the public service, yet it is gone to a worthless rogue that nobody knows. I am writ to earnestly by somebody to come to town, and join with those people now in power, but I will not do it. Say nothing of this, but guess the person. I told lord Oxford I would go with him, when he was out: and now he begs it of me, and I cannot refuse him. I meddle not with his faults, as he was a minister of state; but you know his personal kindness to me was excessive: he distinguished and chose me above all other men, while he was great; and his letter to me the other day was the most moving imaginable. When I am fixed any where, perhaps I may be so gracious to let you know, but I will not promise. Adieu.

FROM MR. JOHN BIRCH.

WANTAGE, ONE O'CLOCK,

MR. DEAN, AUG. 1, 1714.

AT twelve o'clock lord Bolingbroke's man rid through Wantage, to call Mr. Packer to London, the queen being dead *. I am confounded at the melancholy news; yet could not forbear sending it to you. Your truly humble servant,

JO. BIRCH †.

* See in the sixth volume a particular account of the Queen's death, which was given in the papers of the day. N.

† Directed "To the reverend the Dean of St. Patrick's, Letcombe;" and endorsed, "Mr. Birch, of Wantage. Received half after one on Sunday afternoon, Aug. 1, 1714. Queen's death. She died at seven that morning." H.

FROM LORD BOLINGBROKE *.

DEAR DEAN, AUG. 3, 1714.

THE earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday: the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this! and how does Fortune banter us! John Barber tells me, you have set your face toward Ireland. Pray do not go. I am against it. But this is nothing; John is against it. Ireland will be the scene of some disorder, at least it will be the scene of mortification to your friends. Here every thing is quiet, and will continue so. Beside which, as prosperity divided, misfortune may perhaps to some degree unite us. The tories seem to resolve not to be crushed; and that is enough to prevent them from being so. Pope has sent me a letter from Gay: being learned in geography, he took Binfield * to be the ready way from Hanover to Whitehall. Adieu. But come to London, if you stay no longer than a fortnight. Ever yours, dear Jonathan, most sincerely.

I have lost all by the death of the queen, but my spirit; and I protest to you, I feel that increase upon me. The whigs are a pack of jacobites; that shall be the cry in a month, if you please.

* A village where Mr. Pope's father lived, and whence several of Mr. Pope's letters were written. It is in Windsor forest, and lies in Berkshire. H.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

TUESDAY, AUG. 3, 1714.

I AM overwhelmed with business, and therefore have only time to tell you I received yours of August the first, and think you should come to town, to see how the world goes: for all old schemes, designs, projects, journies, &c. are broke by the great event. We are ill prognosticators. Every thing goes on with a tranquillity we durst not hope for. Earl Berkeley commands the fleet. Lord Dorset compliments the king. The duke of Bolton, lord lieutenant of Southampton. Addison, secretary to the regents.

FROM MR. BARBER.

HONOURED SIR, AUG. 3, 1714.

YOU may easily imagine the concern we were all in on the sudden surprise of the queen's death. I have hardly recovered it yet. Lord Bolingbroke told me last Friday, that he would reconcile you to lady Somerset, and then it would be easy to set you right with the queen, and that you should be made easy here, and not go over. He said twenty things in your favour, and commanded me to bring you up, whatever was the consequence. He said farther, he would make clear work with them.

them. But all vanished in a minute; and he is now threatened and abused every day by the party, who publickly rejoice, and swear they will turn out every tory in England.

Enclosed you have a letter from my lord: he desires you would come up, and be any where *incognito*. Why not at the queen's house?

The earl of Berkeley is to command the fleet to fetch over the king, and the duke of Argyll is to go to Scotland. I send you the list of the twenty-five kings †. Poor lady Masham is almost dead with grief ******.

The parliament meets to-morrow, which will hinder me from coming down for three or four days; but if you resolve to stay in the country farther, I will certainly come down, for I must needs see you. Pray favour me with a line. I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant. Pray come up.

When my lord gave me the letter, he said, "he hoped you would come up, and help to save the constitution, which, with a little good management, might be kept in tory hands."

† The lords of the regency. *H.*

FROM CHARLES FORD, ESQ.

LONDON, AUG. 5, 1714.

I HAVE writ to Dawson * for a license of absence for you; but you know you must take the oaths in Ireland within three months. There are a great many here in the same circumstances: and in all probability, some of them will desire an act of parliament to have leave to do it here. In that case, it will be no difficult matter to have you included. Mr. Lewis tells me, he wrote to you to come up to town, and I see no reason why you should not. All matters go on very quiet, and we are not apprehensive of any disturbances. Stocks never rose so much in so few days. This is imputed to the hatred of the old treasurer, and the popularity of the new one. The whigs were not in council when he was recommended. Lord Bolingbroke proposed it there, as well as to the queen; and I hope they two are upon very good terms, though Mr. Lewis seems positive of the contrary. I never heard of any pique the duke had to him, but that he was to be chief minister; and that being at an end, why may not they be reconciled? The dragon was thought to show more joy upon proclaiming the king, than was consistent with the obligations he had received from ——. He was

* Joshua Dawson, esq. secretary to the lords justices of Ireland. He built a very fine house in a street called by his own name, which is now the mansion-house of the lord mayor of Dublin. F.

hissed

hissed all the way by the mob, and some of them threw halters into his coach. This was not the effect of party; for the duke of Ormond was huzzaed throughout the whole city, and was followed by a vast crowd to his own house, though he used all possible endeavours to prevent it. There was an attempt to affront the captain in the cavalcade, but it did not succeed; and though a few hissed, the acclamations immediately drowned the noise. Not a single man shewed the least respect to the colonel; and last night my lord Bingley * was beaten, by mistake, coming out of his house. I doubt he has disobliged both sides so much, that neither will ever own him; and his enemies tell stories of him, that I shall not believe till I find you allow them.

The lords justices made a speech to the parliament to day. If it comes out time enough, I will send it you; but I hear it only contains their proceedings upon the queen's death; that they have yet received no directions from the king, and to desire the commons to continue the funds, which are expired. I am told our regents are already divided into four parties. The greatest use they have made yet of their power, is to appoint my lord Berkeley to command the fleet which is to bring over the king, and to make the duke of Bolton lord lieutenant of Hampshire.

I send you a Gazette †, though I am ashamed to have it seen. I had writ a great deal more of

* Who had been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of Spain, in the room of lord Lexington, in December 1715. H.

† He was gazetteer. H.

the queen's illness, an account of her birth, &c. but I could not find out Mr. Lewis, and had nobody to consult with, and therefore chose rather to say too little, than any thing I doubted might be improper. Yesterday the duke of Marlborough made his publick entry through the city: first, came about two hundred horsemen, three in a row, then a company of trainbands, with drums, &c. his own chariot with himself and his duchess. Then my duchess followed by sixteen coaches with six horses, and between thirty and forty with two horses. There was no great mob when he passed through the Pallmall, but there was in the city: and he was hissed by more than huzzaed. At Templebar, I am assured, the noise of hissing was loudest, though they had prepared their friends to receive him, and the gathering of others was only accidental. You may guess how great a favourite he is, by some old stories of his behaviour at the camp, when ——— was there, and afterward at Hanover; and by the share he and his family have in the regency. But to be sure, this discreet action will endear him more than any subject in England. We had bonfires, &c. at night. From the list of lords justices, and some other things, we imagine to ourselves there will not be many changes; but the vacancies for some time will be filled up with whigs.

What I blotted out in my last, was something that passed between the captain * and Barber, relating to you. After I had writ, they told me all letters would be opened, which made me blot

* Lord Bolingbroke. N.

out

out that passage. Barber says, he gave you some account of it, though not a full one. I really believe lord Bolingbroke was very sincere in the professions he made to you, and he could have done any thing. No minister was ever in that height of favour; and lady Masham was at least in as much credit, as she had been in any time of her life. But these are melancholy reflections. Pray send me your poem *. *Hoc erat*, &c. or bring it up yourself. Barber told me, he had been several hours with the captain, upon a thing that should have come out, but was now at an end †. He did not tell what it was; and I would not ask many questions, for fear of giving him suspicion.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

SIR, WHITEHALL, AUGUST 7, 1714.

IT is true you have nothing to do here; but what have you to do any where else till you go to Ireland, where you must indeed be before three months end, in order to qualify yourself? The law requires it, as much as if your deanery was but now conferred upon you.

* Swift's imitation of part of the sixth satire of the second book of Horace.

I often wish'd, that I had clear,
For life, six hundred pounds a year, *&c.* H.

† "Free Thoughts." See the note in p. 390. N.

Arbuthnot

Arbuthnot is removed to Chelsea, and will settle there. The town fills every moment. We are as full in the house of commons as at any time. We are gaping and staring to see who is to rule us. The whigs think they shall engross all. We think we shall have our share. In the mean time we have no division at council, or in parliament. I sent twice to Kensington to inquire after lady Masham's health. Next week I will go to see her, and will keep up my acquaintance, in all events, if she thinks fit. I doubt she and her sister are not perfectly easy in their affairs; but you forgot one who is worse than either, that is Mrs. Hill, who has not a sous. I will stay here till our commission is either renewed to us, or given to another. I am yours, &c.

TO LADY MASHAM.

MADAM, AUGUST 7, 1714.

I HAD the honour of a letter from your ladyship a week ago; and, the day after, came the unfortunate news of the queen's death, which made it altogether unseasonable, as perhaps it may be still, to give your ladyship this kind of trouble. Although my concern be as great as that of any other good subject, for the loss of so excellent a princess; yet I can assure you, madam, it is little to what I suffer upon your ladyship's particular account. As you excel in the several duties of a tender mother, a true

true friend, and a loving wife, so you have been the best and most faithful servant to your mistress, that ever any sovereign had. And although you have not been rewarded suitably to your merits, I doubt not but God will make it up to you in another life, and to your children and posterity in this. I cannot go about to comfort your ladyship in your great affliction, otherwise than by begging you to make use of your own piety, and your own wisdom, of both which you have so great a share. You are no longer a servant; but you are still a wife, a mother, and a friend; and you are bound in conscience to take care of your health, in order to acquit yourself of these duties, as well as you did of the other, which is now at an end.

I pray God to support your ladyship, under so great a share of load, in this general calamity; and remain, with the greatest respect and truth, madam,

Your ladyship's most obedient,
and most obliged servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I most heartily thank your ladyship for the favourable expressions and intentions in your letter, written at a time when you were at the height of favour and power.

TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

MY LORD, AUGUST 7, 1714.

I HAD yours of the third; and our country post is so ordered, that I could acknowledge it no sooner. It is true, my lord, the events of five days last week might furnish morals for another volume of Seneca. As to my lord Oxford, I told him freely my opinion before I left the town, that he ought to resign at the end of the session. I said the same thing often to your lordship and my lady Masham, although you seemed to think otherwise, for some reasons; and said so to him one afternoon, when I met you there with my lord chancellor. But, I remember, one of the last nights I saw him (it was at lady Masham's lodgings) I said to him, "That, upon the foot your lordship and he then were, it was impossible you could serve together two months:" and, I think, I was just a week out in my calculation. I am only sorry, that it was not a resignation, rather than a removal; because the personal kindness and distinction I always received from his lordship and you, gave me such a love for you both (if you great men will allow that expression in a little one) that I resolved to preserve it entire, however you differed between yourselves; and in this I did, for some time, follow your commands and example. I impute it more to the candour of each of you, than to my own conduct, that having been, for two years, almost the only man who went between you, I never observed the least alteration in either of your countenances towards me.

I will swear for no man's sincerity, much less for that of a minister of state: but thus much I have said, wherever it was proper, that your lordship's proposals were always the fairest in the world, and I faithfully delivered them as I was empowered: and although I am no very skilful man at intrigue, yet I durst forfeit my head, that if the case were mine, I could either have agreed with you, or put you *dans votre tort*. When I saw all reconciliation impracticable, I thought fit to retire; and was resolved, for some reasons (not to be mentioned at this distance) to have nothing to do with whomever was to be last in. For either I should not be needed, or not be made use of. And let the case be what it would, I had rather be out of the way. All I pretended was, to speak my thoughts freely, to represent persons and things without any mingle of my interest or passions, and sometimes to make use of an evil instrument, which was likely to cost me dear, even from those for whose service it was employed. I did believe there would be no farther occasion for me, upon any of those accounts. Besides, I had so ill an opinion of the queen's health, that I was confident you had not a quarter of time left for the work you had to do; having let slip the opportunity of cultivating those dispositions she had got after her sickness at Windsor. I never left pressing my lord Oxford with the utmost earnestness (and perhaps more than became me) that we might be put in such a condition, as not to lie at mercy on this great event: and I am your lordship's witness that you have nothing to answer for in that matter. I will, for once, talk in my trade, and tell you, that I never saw any thing more resemble

semble our proceedings, than a man of fourscore, or in a deep consumption, going on in his sins; although his physician assured him he could not live a week. Those wonderful refinements, of keeping men in expectation, and not letting your friends be too strong, might be proper in their season—*Sed nunc non erat his locus.* Besides, you kept your bread and butter till it was too stale for any body to care for it. Thus your machine of four years modelling is dashed to pieces in a moment: and, as well by the choice of the regents as by their proceedings, I do not find there is any intention of managing you in the least. The whole nineteen * consist either of the highest partymen, or (which mightily mends the matter) of such who left us upon the subject of the peace, and affected jealousies about the succession. It might reasonably be expected, that this quiet possession might convince the successor of the good dispositions of the church party toward him; and I ever thought there was a mighty failure somewhere or other, that this could not have

* On the demise of the queen, the following were lords of the Regency, until the arrival of George I. from Hanover; archbishop Tenison; lord Harcourt, lord chancellor; the duke of Buckingham, president of the council; the duke of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and lord high treasurer of England; the earl of Dartmouth, lord privy seal; the earl of Strafford, first lord commissioner of the admiralty; and Sir Thomas Parker, lord chief justice of the king's bench; who were appointed by act of parliament. To which the elector of Hanover was pleased to add the following: the archbishop of York; the dukes of Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyll, Montrose, and Roxburgh; the earls of Pembroke, Anglesea, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford; lord viscount Townshend, lord Halifax, and lord Cowper. N.

been

been done in the queen's life. But this is too much for what is past; and yet, whoever observed and disliked the causes, has some title to quarrel with the effects. As to what is to come, your lordship is in the prime of your years, *plein des esprits qui fournissent les espérances*; and you are now again to act that part (though in another assembly) which you formerly discharged so much to your own honour and the advantage of your cause. You set out with the wind and tide against you; yet, at last, arrived at your port, from whence you are now driven back into open sea again. But, not to involve myself in an allegory, I doubt whether, after this disappointment, you can go on with the same vigour you did in your more early youth. Experience, which has added to your wisdom, has lessened your resolution. You are now a general, who, after many victories, have lost a battle, and have not the same confidence in yourself or your troops. Your fellow labourers have either made their fortunes, or are past them, or will go over to seek them on the other side.——Yet, after all, and to resume a little courage; to be at the head of the church interest is no mean station; and that, as I take it, is now in your lordship's power. In order to which, I could heartily wish for that union you mention; because, I need not tell you, that some are more dexterous at pulling down their enemies than, &c. We have certainly more heads and hands than our adversaries; but, it must be confessed, they have stronger shoulders and better hearts. I only doubt my friends, the rabble, are at least grown trimmers; and that, setting up the cry of "trade and wool," against "Sacheverell and the

the church," has cooled their zeal. I take it for granted, there will be a new parliament against winter; and if they will retain me on the other side as their councellor, I will engage them a majority. But since it is possible I may not be so far in their good graces, if your lordship thinks my service may be of any use in this new world, I will be ready to attend you by the beginning of winter. For the misfortune is, that I must go to Ireland to take the oaths *: which I never reflected on till I had notice from some friends in London: and the sooner I go the better, to prevent accidents; for I would not willingly want a favour at present. I think to set out in a few days, but not before your lordship's commands and instructions may reach me. I cannot conclude without offering my humblest thanks and acknowledgements, for your lordship's kind intentions toward me (if this accident had not happened) of which I received some general hints.—I pray God direct your lordship: and I desire you will believe me to be what I am, with the utmost truth and respect,

Your lordship's most obedient, &c.

JON. SWIFT.

See hereafter, p. 466. N.

TO ARCHDEACON WALLS.

LETCOMBE, AUG. 8, 1714.

IF I had but fixed a week sooner for my journey to Ireland, I should have avoided twenty inconveniencies that have since happened to me, and been with you the time I am now writing. Upon the earl of Oxford's removal, he desired I would go with him into Herefordshire, which I consented to, and wrote you word of it, desiring you would renew my license of absence at the end of this month, for I think it then expires. Two days after, I had earnest invitation from those in power, to go up to town, and assist them in their new ministry; which I resolved to excuse; but, before I could write, news came of the queen's death, and all our schemes broke to shatters. I am told I must take the oaths in Ireland in three months; and I think it is better travelling now than later; and although I am earnestly pressed by our broken leaders to come up to town, I shall not do it; but hope to set out on the sixteenth instant toward Ireland, and if it please God, be with you in nine or ten days after this comes to your hands. However, let my license be renewed before it expires. I think I answered yours in my last. I leave all things entirely to you and Mr. Forbes. My service to gossip Doll, goody Stoyte and Martha, and Mr. Manley and lady. Mr. Manley is, I believe, now secure in his post; and it will be my turn to solicit favours from him. I have taken up Mr. Fetherston's money, to pay some debts in London. I desire you will pay him fifty pounds, with the usual exchange, at twenty days sight; or later, if it be inconvenient.

FROM ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

WHITEHALL, AUG. 10, 1714.

I NEVER differed from you in opinion in any point so much, as in your proposal to accommodate matters between the dragon and his *quondam* friends. I will venture to go so far with you, as to say he contributed to his own disgrace, by his petitesses, more than they did, or ever had it in their power to do. But since they would admit of no terms of accommodation, when he offered to serve them in their own way, I had rather see his dead carcase, than that he should now tamely submit to those, who have loaded him with all the obloquy malice could suggest, and tongues utter. Have not Chartres *, Brinsden †, and all the runners, been employed to call him dog, villain, sot, and worthless? And shall he, after this, join them? To what end? I have great tenderness for lady —— ‡, and think her best way is to retire, and enjoy the comforts of a domestick life. But sure the earth has not produced such monsters as Mercurialis §, and his companion ||, and the prelate **. The last openly

* The famous colonel Chartres. H.

† He is said, by Mr. Boyer, in Political State, vol. III. for Jan. 1711-12, p. 52, to have been an oculist, and a private agent of lord Bolingbroke; and to have been employed by the government, in Jan. 1711-12, to attend our prince Eugene, when his highness arrived in England, in the beginning of that month. B.

‡ Masham. H.

§ Lord Bolingbroke. H.

|| Probably the lord chancellor Harcourt. B.

** The bishop of Rochester. H.

avows

avows he never had obligation to the dragon, and loads him with ten thousand crimes; though his greatest, in reality, was preferring him. But to come out of this rant; What should they be friends for? *Cui bono?* Are we in a dream? Is the queen alive again? Can the lady * hereafter make any figure, but a *persona muta* in a drama? If the dragon declares against the man of mercury, he may strike in with the *tertium quid*, that will probably arise; but with him he can never be otherwise than spurned and hated. The natural result of this is, that however I may, for my private satisfaction, desire to see you here, I cannot but think you should go to Ireland to qualify yourself, and then return hither, when the chaos will be jumbled into some kind of order. If the king keeps some tories in employment, the notion of whig and tory will be lost; but that of court and country will arise †. The regency has declared in favour of the whigs in Ireland. I believe Mr. Thomas will stand his ground. We shall be dissolved as soon as we have settled the civil list. We have no appearance that any attempt will be formed by the pretender.

* Lady Masham. H.

† This is a remarkable prediction, which we have seen fulfilled. H.

FROM LORD BOLINGBROKE.

AUG. 11, 1714.

I SWEAR I did not imagine, that you could have held out through two pages, even of small paper, in so grave a style. Your state of late passages is right enough. I reflect upon them with indignation, and shall never forgive myself for having trusted so long to so much real pride, and awkward humility; to an air of such familiar friendship, and a heart so void of all tenderness; to such a temper of engrossing business and power, and so perfect an incapacity to manage one, with such a tyrannical disposition to abuse the other, &c *.

But enough of this, I cannot load him as knave, without fixing fool on myself.

For you I have a most sincere and warm affection, and in every part of my life will shew it. Go into Ireland, since it must be so, to swear †, and come back into Britain to bless: to bless me, and those few friends who will enjoy you.

Johannes Tonsor ‡ brings you this. From him you will hear what is doing. Adieu, love me, and love me the better, because after a greater blow than most men ever felt, I keep up my spirit; am neither dejected at what has passed, nor apprehensive at what is to come. *Meâ virtute me involvo.*

* He means lord Oxford. H.

† That is, to take the oaths to the government on king George's accession to the throne. See p. 462. B.

‡ John Barber. H.

FROM CHARLES FORD, ESQ.

LONDON, AUG. 12, 1714.

OUR justices sit several hours every day, without affording us the least news. I do not hear any thing they have done worth mentioning, except some orders they have given about the dispute in the city of Dublin. You may be sure they are not such as will please our friends; but I think you and I agreed in condemning those proceedings in our own people. My lord Derby is made lord lieutenant of Lancashire. That and Hampshire are the only vacant employments they have filled up; I suppose, under pretence of their being maritime counties. If the whigs had directed the list of regents, Marlborough, Sunderland and Wharton had not been left out. There are five tories too, that would not have been in. Though they were a little whimsical for three or four days about the succession, they seemed to recant, and own themselves in an errour by the later votes. Every one of them approved the peace, and were for the address at the end of the last session, that it was safe, honourable, and advantageous. Considering what ministers were employed here by the court of Hanover, and that the king himself had little information but what he received from them, I think his list shews no ill disposition to the tories: and they say he is not apt to be hasty in removing the persons he finds in employment. The bill is brought in for granting him the old duties for the civil list. One Wykes *, of Northampton,

* William Wykes, M. P. for Northampton in two parliaments, 1713 and 1714. N.

moved

moved to tack the place bill to it; but nobody seconded him, and he was extremely laughed at. He happens unluckily to be a tory.

Did you receive your papers last post? The first copy * is not yet left at St. Dunstan's †. Should I send to Barber for it in Bolingbroke's name? I have writ to him to bring in his bill, and as soon as he comes I will pay him. I suppose I shall see him tomorrow. I wish you a good journey to Ireland. But if I hear Saturday's post comes into Wantage on Sunday, I may trouble you again. Pray let me know when you land in Ireland, that I may write to you, if any thing happens worth while. I shall be very impatient for what you promise me from thence. I should be very glad to hear from you while you are on the road.

Lord Anglesey came to town last Tuesday. They are all here now, except Pembroke and Strafford.

Charles Eversfield ‡ is making his court to the dukes of Somerset and Argyll: he declares he will keep his place, if he can, and that he will not stir for Campion's election in the county of Sussex. Campion and he have had some high words upon that account. Lord Orford told the commissioners of the admiralty, they were ignorant, negligent of their duty, and wanted zeal for the king's service.

* The first draught of the "Free Thoughts." See the notes on some preceding letters. N.

† The coffee-house so called. N.

‡ Member for Horsham. N.

FROM DR. ARBUTHNOT.

MY DEAR FRIEND, AUG. 12, 1714.

I THANK you for your kind letter, which is very comfortable upon such a melancholy occasion. My dear mistress's days were numbered even in my imagination, and could not exceed such certain limits; but of that small number a great deal was cut off by the last troublesome scene of this contention among her servants. I believe sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller, than death was to her; only it surprised her too suddenly before she had signed her will; which, no doubt, her being involved in so much business hindered her from finishing. It was unfortunate, that she had been persuaded, as is supposed by Lowndes, that it was necessary to have it under the great seal. I have figured to myself all this melancholy scene; and even, if it be possible, worse than it has happened twenty times; so that I was prepared for it. My case is not half so deplorable as poor lady Masham's, and several of the queen's servants; some of whom have no chance for their bread but the generosity of his present majesty, which several people, that know him, very much commend. So far is plain from what is happened in publick affairs, that what one party affirmed of the settlement has proved true, and that it was firm: that it was in some measure an advantage to the successor not to have been here, and so obliged to declare himself in several things, in which he is now at liberty. And indeed never any prince in this respect came to the crown with greater advantage. I can assure you the peaceable scene that

now appears, is a disappointment to more than one set of people.

I have an opportunity calmly and philosophically to consider that treasure of vileness and baseness, that I always believed to be in the heart of man; and to behold them exert their insolence and baseness: every new instance, instead of surprising and grieving me, as it does some of my friends, really diverts me, and in a manner improves my theory. Though I think I have not met with it in my own case, except from one man. And he was very far mistaken, for to him I would not abate one grain of my proud spirit. Dear friend, the last sentence of your letter quite kills me. Never repeat that melancholy tender word, that you will endeavour to forget me. I am sure I never can forget you, till I meet with (what is impossible) another, whose conversation I can delight so much in as Dr. Swift's; and yet that is the smallest thing I ought to value you for. That hearty sincere friendship, that plain and open ingenuity in all your commerce, is what I am sure I never can find in another. Alas! I shall want often a faithful monitor, one that would vindicate me behind my back, and tell me my faults to my face. God knows I write this with tears in my eyes. Yet do not be obstinate, but come up for a little time to London; and if you must needs go, we may concert a manner of correspondence wherever we are. I have a letter from Gay just before the queen's death. Is he not a true poet, who had not one of his own books to give to the princess, that asked for one?

TO MISS VANHOMRIGH.

AUG. 12, 1714.

I HAD your letter last post, and before you can send me another, I shall set out for Ireland. I must go and take the oaths; and the sooner the better. If you are in Ireland when I am there, I shall see you very seldom. It is not a place for any freedom; but it is where every thing is known in a week, and magnified a hundred degrees. These are rigorous laws that must be passed through: but it is probable we may meet in London in winter; or if not, leave all to fate, that seldom comes to humour our inclinations. I say all this out of the perfect esteem and friendship I have for you. These publick misfortunes have altered all my measures, and broke my spirits. God Almighty bless you. I shall, I hope, be on horse-back in a day after this comes to your hand. I would not answer your questions for a million; nor can I think of them with any ease of mind. Adieu.

FROM CHARLES FORD, ESQ.

AUG. 14, 1714*.

I HOPE you did not pay the two shillings for postage. If you did, pray send me the cover, that I may inquire into the meaning of it.

I suppose you expect news upon Cragg's return from Hanover; but I do not hear a word more than what you have in the lords justices speech. Yesterday morning after he came, the whigs looked dejected, and our friends very much pleased; though I do not know any reason for either, unless it was expected by both sides, that he would have brought orders for alterations. It seems the Dragon's entertainment was on a family account, upon the agreement between lord Harley and lord Pelham; and only those, who were concerned in their affairs, were invited. But slighter grounds would have served to raise a story at this time; and it was sufficient, that my lord Townshend and lord Cowper dined at his house. However, we look upon him as lost to our side; and he has certainly made advances of civility to the whigs, which they have returned with the utmost contempt. I am told Dismal † begins to declare for his old friends, and protest he was really afraid for the protestant succession, which made him act in the manner he did. The foreign peers are certainly deprived of their right of voting by the express words of the act of succesion;

* On the back of this letter is the following note of the Dean. "Memorandum, I left Letcombe, Aug. 16, 1714, in order to Ireland." H.

† The earl of Nottingham. H.

and

and it appears it was the intention of the legislature at that time, for prince George of Denmark was excepted by name; but it is thought the lords will interpret it otherwise, when it comes to be tried. They do not lose the other privileges of peerage, and their posterity born here may sit in the house. The same clause extends to the house of commons; and no foreigner can enjoy any employment, civil or military. They may be favourable to the lords, who are all whigs; but I doubt poor duke Disney will lose his regiment. I suppose Barber has given you an account of lord Bolingbroke's pamphlet. If you and he are not come to an éclaircissement upon it, shall I send to him for it? I long for the other. Yesterday the commons voted *nemine con.* to pay the Hanover troops, that deserted us in 1712. To day sir William Wyndham, Campion, and two or three more, gave some opposition to it; for which they are extremely blamed. I think they had acted right, if they had spoke against it yesterday; but it seems they were not then in the house. They had not strength enough to day to come to a division.

Once more I wish you a good journey, and a quick return; and I hope you will find things go better than you expect.

For the following List of ERRATA, in the printed copy of Swift's Letter to VARINA, April 29, 1696, as exhibited by Mr. George Berkeley in his LITERARY RELICKS, 1789, p. 23, we are indebted to the accurate investigation of Mr. Malone; who made them from the Original, formerly in the possession of the Earl of Macartney.

P. 15, l. 14.—for " could," read " would."
l. 18.—for " upon," read " on."
P. 16, l. 5.—for " it's," read " 'tis."
l. 7.—for " heartily to curse," read " to curse heartily."
l. 30.—for " you now have," read " you have now."
P. 18, l. 10.—for " it is so then," read " is it so then ?"
The Original reads as the printed Copy does; except that there is a *note of interrogation* at the end of the sentence. It is clear therefore, that Swift *intended* to write " and *is it* so then ?" though by mistake he has written—" and it is so then ?"—And therefore this correction may be safely made.
P. 18, l. 20.—" Surely, Varina," &c. This should begin a new paragraph, and does so in the Original.
l. 27.—for " and exalted," read " and so exalted."
P. 19, l. 8.—for " highly," read " hugely."
l. 14.—for " helps," read " help."
l. 16.—for " train," read " strain."
l. 20.—for " it is," read " 'tis."
l. 23.—for " it is," read " 'tis."
P. 20, l. 6.—for " lose him that *has* resolved," read " lose, for ever lose, him that is resolved."

END OF VOL. X.

ERRATUM IN VOL. XII.

P. 354, l. 16.—for " principal," read " principle."

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